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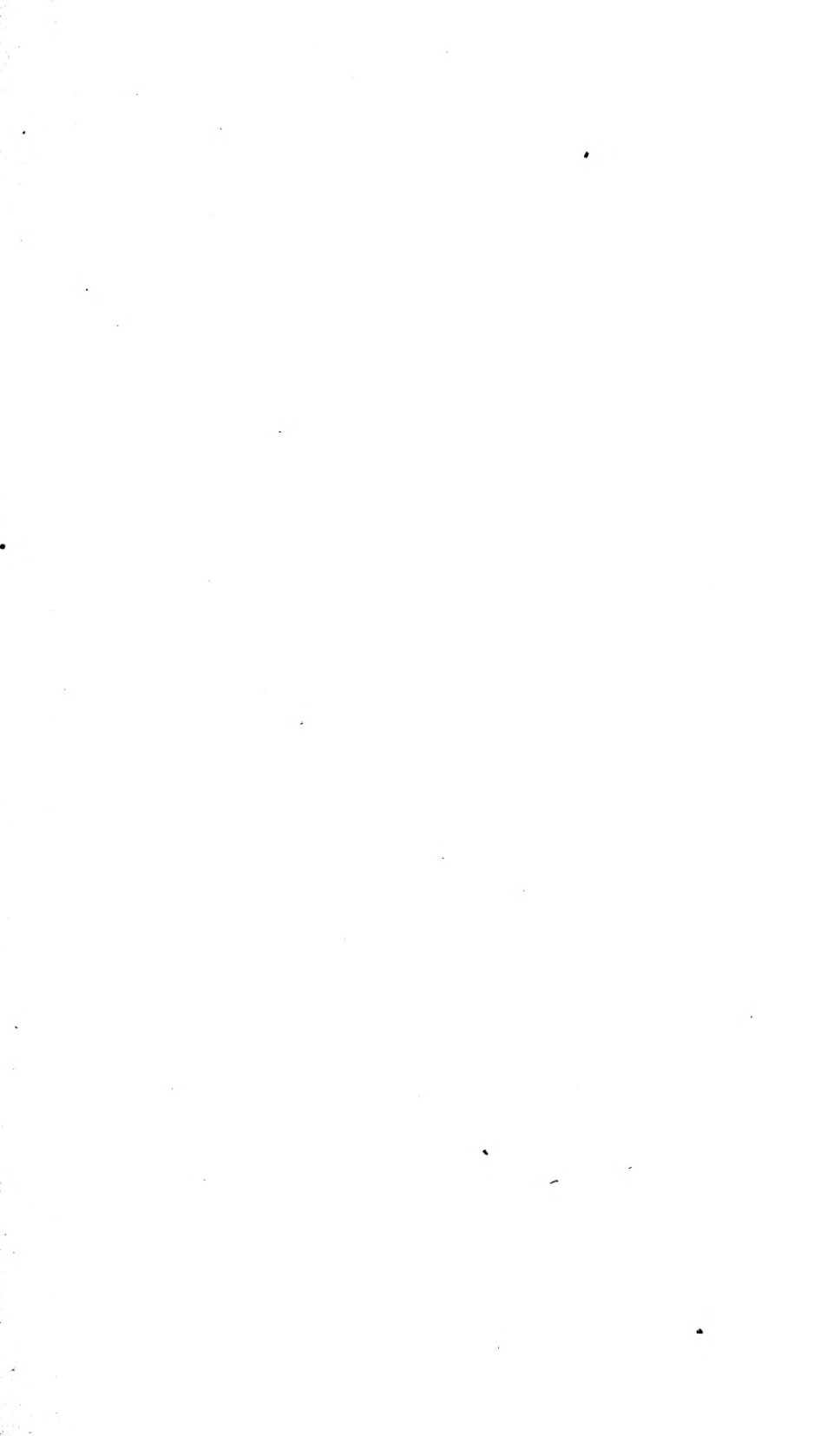
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SHELF N^o

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he could not at all think that giving a large portion of it to the right honourable gentleman, who was a Privy Counsellor, and a county member, was right. He certainly might be employed in a more dignified manner than in distributing scrip. Mr. Martin said, he was glad to hear the noble Lord intended to check the mischievous abuse of lotteries. Gambling in high life, he was ready to agree, no laws could stop entirely, but he did not entertain the same opinion with regard to the middling and lower ranks of life. Their inclination to gamble, might, he thought, be easily limited by law, and restrained altogether.

General Smith asked a question relative to the 50,000*l.* General which the noble Lord had said the day before he meant to re- Smith. serve for the payment of the saltpetre contract.

Mr. Kenrick informed the House, that he had caused a state Mr. Kenrick. of the contract to be laid before the Attorney and Solicitor General for their opinion, and to know how it could be rescinded, if it was an improper contract. Before he got the answer of the Crown lawyers, Mr. Townson waited on the Board of his own accord, and offered to give up the contract, nay, he insisted on it: but the Board fearing the want of saltpetre, resisted him: he then offered to submit the affair to the arbitration of any set of gentlemen, or to abide by whatever terms the Board should think proper to dictate: Mr. Townson, in a word, acted in a very handsome, gentlemanlike manner; and the Board agreed to pay him at the rate of 10 per cent. over and above the prime cost; which prime cost was not yet known to the Board.

Mr. Hussy wished that the contract should be completely Mr. Hussy. rescinded; nor did he think that the apprehension of the want of saltpetre was by any means well founded: for he understood that the annual consumption of saltpetre for the Ordnance was about 1400 tons. Now there were in the Tower of London, 1000 tons belonging to the India Company, and at their warehouse 200 tons more: the Prime and Belmont Indiamen had lately brought home several hundred tons; so that there was very little room for supposing that the Board could be distressed for saltpetre.

The Speaker was obliged again to interfere, as before, saying The Speaker. that the saltpetre contract was not then before the House. er. The report was read twice; and after some little conversation, was agreed to without a division, and a bill or bills were ordered in thereupon.

February 27.

The Sheriffs of London presented at the bar a petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common-council assembled, setting forth, that the petitioners, in the present state of public affairs, moved by every sentiment that can impress the human mind with regard for the common welfare of this kingdom and its dependencies, are impelled to implore this honourable House to interpose, in such manner as to their wisdom shall seem most effectual, for preventing the continuance of the unfortunate war with America. The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Alderman Newnham.

Mr. Alderman *Newnham* just rose to inform the House that the city had been unanimous in this petition, as they were most heartily tired of the American war.

Motion for putting an end to offensive war with America.

General Conway.

General *Conway* rose at half past four o'clock, to renew his attempt to bring the House to agree with him, that, in the present posture of our affairs, it would be inexpedient and improper any longer to prosecute the American war. He desired that the petition from the cities of London and Bristol might be read, he declared that firm as he was in his opinion on Friday last, of the necessity of putting an end to the American war, he had this day been if possible more confirmed; for the first trading city in the world, had petitioned against the war, and they undoubtedly were the best judges of its effects. He had several inducements to renew his motion; he would do it from a principle of duty to his country, to his constituents, and to himself; and so deep was the impression which the calamities and disgraces of this unnatural and cruel war had made upon him, that while he had a mind to think, a heart to feel, or a tongue to speak, he never would relax in his endeavours to point out the necessity of putting an end to it. Another inducement was, that the last question, which he had the honour of submitting to the House, had been lost, or as some would call it carried, by so very small a majority; and he had since conversed with so many members, who were absent when that question was discussed, and who had assured him that if they had been present when it was proposed they would have voted for it; that he could not bring himself to think, that the sense of the House could fairly be said to have been taken on the subject; members had frequently made light of their attendance, but he begged them to consider and reflect that perhaps all the mischiefs and calamities of that

was

war were now to be attributed to the absence of a single member. But these were not his only inducements ; he had still another, from which he expected no inconsiderable advantage ; two members of great weight, and deservedly of great weight in that House [Mr. Rigby and the Lord Advocate] had, in the late debate on the American war, fairly confessed that they were tired of the war ; they had declared themselves converts to the opinion of its impracticability ; and they had delivered themselves on that subject in a very manly manner : all he regretted was, that they had not followed up their manly declaration with a manly vote for the Address. They were now avowed converts ; the light had shone upon them, they were thrown down from their high horse of starvation and unconditional submission, but, unlike Paul, after his conversion, they had not become the champions of that people and cause of which they had been such violent persecutors. Their conduct appeared to him perfectly inexplicable : and if he might borrow an image from the sacred text, he might say that they and others had received the gift of tongues ; cloven tongues had fallen upon them ; not tongues of truth and sincerity, but double tongues ; they had one tongue for Parliament, and another for private companies ; with the one they censured and condemned the American war, and with the other, they voted against every proposition that had a tendency to put an end to it : the world would judge of the consistency of such conduct, and their own honour would tell them how unworthy it was of them.—He was sorry to say that these two members were not the only two, who were gifted with these cloven tongues : he had dined in company with an honest plain soldier a few days ago, who observed, that he never had been more astonished than at hearing many members of Parliament most heartily condemn in coffee-houses, the very same measures for which he had seen them the most strenuous advocates in Parliament : whether it was matter of astonishment or not, it was an undoubted fact, that the representation of the old officer was founded in truth ; and that there were but too many persons within those walls, who could bear witness to it. Upon all these, who spoke thus with double tongues, he called, to reflect upon the calamities which by their conduct they would be instrumental in heaping upon their country ; and he hoped that all sense of honour and patriotism was not completely extinguished in their breasts, but that they must be roused to a total dereliction of those principles, upon

which they had hitherto enabled ministers to undo their country.

To the motion, which he had the honour to submit to the House on Friday last, he understood there were two objections; and as they might perhaps be made with equal propriety against the motion, which he intended to make at the end of his speech, he would endeavour, as well as he could, to remove them. One objection was, that it was unconstitutional in that House to interfere with its advice in those things, which specially and indisputably belonged to the executive power. This was a position, which none could have been hardy enough to have made, if they had been at all versed in the history of Parliament. Ministers could not find time enough to look into the Journals of the House; they confined their study entirely to one book; and in the contents of it, they were certainly well versed; the book he alluded to was the red book; it was in that they found the greatest comfort, amusement, and assistance; it was there they found the calendar of their saints, whose patronage they experienced on all occasions: but if they could have spared a small portion of their time for the reading of the Journals, they would have found that the objection which had been made to his motion, as if it militated against the principles of the constitution, was founded in falsehood; for it appeared from the Journals, that from the days of Edward the Third down to the present reign, Parliament had at all times given advice to the Crown, in matters relating to war and peace. In the reign of Richard the Second, it had been frequently done; and also in that of Henry the Fourth. There was one remarkable instance of this in the reign of Henry the Seventh; that Prince consulted his Parliament respecting the propriety of supporting the Duke of Brittany against France; and also of declaring war against the latter; and he told his Parliament that it was for no other purpose than to hear their advice on these heads, that he called them together. In the reign of James the First, the Parliament interfered repeatedly with their advice respecting the Palatinate, the match with Spain, and a declaration of war against that power. In the days of Charles the First there were similar interferences; in the reign of his son, Charles the Second, the Parliament made repeated remonstrances, but particularly in 1674 and 1675, on the subject of the alliance with France, which they urged to be renounced; and recommended a strict union with the United Provinces: it was true, that to these re-

monstrances,

monstrances, they had received answers which were by no means pleasing or satisfactory; they were told that they were exceeding the line of their duty, and encroaching upon the prerogative of the Crown: but so little did the Commons of that day relish those answers, that they addressed the King to know who it was that had advised his Majesty to make such answers to their loyal and constitutional remonstrances? In the reign of King William, repeated instances were to be found in the Journals, of advice given by Parliament relative to the Irish war, and the war on the continent: the like occurred frequently in the reign of Queen Anne; and one address, in particular, advised the Queen not to make peace with France, until Spain should be secured to Austria; nay, it went so far as to advise her Majesty not to consent to peace until Dunkirk should be demolished.

Against such a torrent of precedents, he asked, who could contend? A man must fly in the face of common sense and conviction, who could, after hearing them, continue to say that the motion which he had submitted to the House on Friday, was in its nature unparliamentary and unconstitutional. He would take it then for granted, for he would not insult the House with a doubt on the subject, that he had removed the objection that had been made to his motion on this ground; he had proved it to be constitutional. He would next endeavour to satisfy the minds of those gentlemen who had urged this other objection to it—that it was obscurely and indistinctly worded. The motion went to advise his Majesty to order his ministers to renounce the war on the continent of America, for the impracticable object of reducing the colonies by force. The object of the motion was, in his mind, very clearly expressed; it was to give up the idea of conquest, and consequently, of an offensive war; but here the ingenuity of some gentlemen had been exerted to render the meaning of the words “offensive” war unintelligible. For his part, without deriving, or at least wishing to derive, any knowledge from his profession, but judging merely as a private man, he knew very distinctly the meaning of these words; an offensive war, was a war in which attempts were made by an army, to possess themselves of what they had not before; a defensive war was that in which they confined all their exertions to defend that, of which they were already in possession. Upon this principle, could any one mistake the real meaning of his motion? He had not said a syllable of withdrawing our troops from the places which they actually held; he had not advised any such measure;

measure; and he would not advise it; perhaps he would rather condemn it. But then while he admitted that it would be proper to keep the posts we now have in America, it might be said to him, "You are a friend to posts; surely then you could have no objection to our shifting our posts, if we could find others more advantageous than those which we already hold."—But his answer to this would be, "No, you must not change your posts; for then you act offensively, by taking places which you did not before hold; and this kind of war is condemned by the motion." He might next be asked, What kind of war could be carried on from these posts? His answer would be—no kind of war whatever; except for self-defence; such a war as General Elliot wages at Gibraltar; and such a war as General Murray, it was said, had lately waged at Fort St. Philip, where, by a spirited and well-timed sally, the works of the enemy nearest the place had been destroyed: this kind of war, and this only, would be permitted under the motion: any other kind of war in America he must, in the present situation of our affairs condemn: the changing of posts would subject us to enormous expences; we should be obliged to take the field; to provide baggage waggons, sick waggons, pontons, intrenching tools, and a thousand other things, which would subject us to the same expence, as the field operations which we had hitherto carried on without advantage, but to the loss of our armies, our treasures, and the best blood of the nation. The species of war which he would think allowable, might be understood by a man of the plainest sense, without going to Mons. Guibert's *Military Principles*, or the *Reveries of Marshal Saxe*.—He wished that there were not reveries among our ministers; the pleasing dreams slipped from the ivory gate, seized their fancies, and playing before their imaginations, kept them as insensible to the real interests of their country as if they were of another country.

Such were his answers to the objections stated to his motion; such his sentiments with respect to the manner in which the troops in America should be ordered to act. He adverted to what had fallen from Mr. Secretary Ellis, on the former debate, that this cursed war was not now to be considered as an American, but as a French war. If it was a French war, undoubtedly we were doing a most impolitic thing, for we were fighting France at arm's length, as she could, with 5000 troops that did not cost her more than 40l. a man a-year, maintain the war against us with 73,000

men,

men, at 100l. a man. There appeared to him a fourth kind of war, at which nature shuddered, he meant an Indian war; for he was well assured that a new place had been appointed, which he could scarce think, in times like the present, was meant as a sinecure, that was, Inspector of Indian affairs. In the name of God what could be the motive of ministers, that they wished to drive every spark of love, every tie of the Americans, whom he would still call brethren, (for so they certainly were) from us? Did we suppose that by the infernal plan of desolation, of burning, ravaging, slaughtering, and ravishing of these oppressed people, we could ever make them love us? Certainly not, they undoubtedly felt the calamities of war, and would wish for peace; but could any man think that a nation, once famed for its honour and humanity, could so far loose sight of itself, as to employ savages to butcher innocent, inoffensive men! No, it was a conduct of that kind that had made us, not as a noble Lord (Mulgrave) had mentioned in a former debate, the glory and envy of every other nation, but had made us the ridicule and contempt of every power upon earth: this he did not speak merely on his own opinion, but on those of gentlemen who had lately travelled, and heard the sentiments of others. An honourable gentleman (Sir H. Mann) in last Friday's debate had declared, that lately on the continent he had been in company, where it was asked what country he was; and on being told an Englishman, they all sneered and turned up their noses; but afterwards, in another company, it was whispered he was an American, and he was caressed by every one. Such was the opinion formed of us, owing to our despicable measures. The Americans, he had been credibly informed, wished for a peace, and would willingly treat for one, could they put any dependence in the faith of ministers: but was it possible for any people to be weak enough to trust to men that were continually shifting their ground, as our present ministers were, calling the war one day a war of posts, another a defensive war, and at last a French American war? He would not contend about mere words; for a rose, to be sure, called by any other name, would smell as sweet as if called by its proper name; and on that head he would let them have the fragrant smell of the word American. But he could not sit down without saying a few words by way of pointing out the necessity of coming to a speedy determination, lest by delaying, we should lose the opportunity of making a peace.

Every

Every gentleman knew what burthens had been heaped upon the public, and how very near we were to see our resources exhausted in the pursuit of an object which constantly fled from us, and which we never could attain; by this wild pursuit we weakened ourselves, and became unable to resist the dreadful danger that was hanging over us. At this very moment, while he was speaking, he was afraid that a dreadful blow was preparing against some vital part of the empire; for he was given to understand that a fleet of 40 sail of the line, partly French and partly Spanish, had lately put to sea, for the purpose of some great expedition, from which we had every thing to dread. The state of those powers who composed the armed neutrality, furnished us also with subject of the greatest apprehension: our resources in men and money were nearly exhausted; the best blood in the country had been spilt, and still our infatuated ministry pursued the war, without even a shadow of hope that success would attend the pursuit.—How many more human sacrifices did those ministers look for? How many more human victims were to be offered up to those demi-gods? Nothing could satiate them; nothing could preserve the empire from that ruin into which they were plunging it, but a vote of that House: He had drawn up a motion, the very same in substance with that which had been already rejected; but differing in terms, in compliance with the rules of Parliament; the first motion was for an address to the Crown; the motion which he intended to make this day, was in the shape of a resolution. He reminded gentlemen that now was the time to attend to their duty: The fate of the last question was determined by a single vote; and though it might be thought that one vote was not of any great consequence, yet it appeared, by the last division, that a single vote was of the greatest importance, and no one who wished well to his country would be absent on the present occasion; for to be absent would be in substance little short of treachery to the interest of the kingdom. He concluded, by moving the following resolution:

“That it is the opinion of this House, that the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this Country against her European enemies, tends, under the present circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual enmity, so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and

and America, and, by preventing an happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his Majesty to restore the blessings of public tranquillity."

Lord Viscount *Althorpe* seconded the motion from a thorough conviction, he said, that it was just, and conformable to the wishes of the people at large, who, where-ever he went, were exclaiming against the American war. He had listened with great attention during the debate of Friday last, and was astonished to hear it said, "You must make war to gain peace—you must make the Americans feel the calamities of war; to wish for peace." Would any man say they had not felt the calamities of war; or would any man say, that we ourselves had not felt the calamities of war? If they did, he must differ widely in opinion from them; for, was the burning of towns, and spreading desolation where-ever we went, not making the Americans feel the calamities of war in the utmost degree? Certainly it was; and the vast burthen and increase of our taxes, was severely felt at home; besides, our army in America was not only an useless army, but was a means of our navy being neglected, for the men that were raised and sent to be slaughtered there, would have been of infinite service, if employed as marines, or by becoming sailors.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* said, that he had formerly declared against the independence of America; though he had never concurred in the carrying on the war, because he had thought it impracticable. He understood that a right honourable gentleman had spoken out in a very manly tone with regard to the American war; a happy breeze had wafted those favourable omens to the gallery, which, by the hand of some careful reporter, were delivered to the world. As their difference of opinion had not merely separated him hitherto from that right honourable gentleman within, but also without doors, he trusted that the present happy change of his sentiments would put an end to their separation. He declared he knew the country had suffered much by the American war; his noble kinsman, however, had given the best evidence with regard to his dislike of war, by his agreement to the terms of sending out commissioners for the purpose of procuring peace. Sir Charles said, his sensibility was strong, which prevented him from speaking in public, and made him but seldom trespass on their attention; he sincerely wished, that he could but transfer some part of that sensibility to his

Lord Al-
thorp.

Sir Charles
Bunbury.

Majesty's ministers, and teach them to feel those sufferings, which their conduct had brought on the country. He was, he acknowledged, much better calculated for a man of pleasure than politics; but his property in the West Indies compelled him to attend to those islands, however disagreeable and uncongenial to his disposition the study might be. Bending under weights like those at present inflicted on the nation, and palliating them by the voice of a majority, he declared, was like soothing a delicate man, and making him bear up against the brawny arm of a coal-heaver. "The ravages of war were injurious to the feelings of humanity, which sighed at them." These were not, he said, the expressions of a recluse philosopher, they were the words of the celebrated Paul Jones, and did honour to his humanity. He had lately heard men wish to prevent gambling; he was very happy that his noble friend had taken some pains to hinder the lower order of people from practising that pernicious vice; he knew the higher order of people could and would break through all preventions, but he could not help wishing that an entire suppression of lotteries might take place, because he was convinced they were exceedingly injurious to morality. It was not, however, in framing or suppressing lotteries, he liked to see his Lordship engaged, many good lessons might be obtained in other places; he had seen a noble Duke and a noble Marquis, his Lordship's predecessors, on the courts at Newmarket, where he could likewise wish to see his Lordship. [Here he was called to order.] He immediately declared he was speaking to order, and should come to the question presently. Had the noble Lord been used to that amusement, to which he had just alluded, he might there have learned some good lessons, in the same manner as children are taught geography from toys, made out of maps cut into pieces. The noble Duke had learned at Newmarket, never to be over-matched; and the noble Marquis, when he found himself entered in a bad match there, always thought it best to pay forfeit. He wished to add nothing to the gentlemen of Lincoln, he did not mean the members for the county, or those for any particular part of it; he only intended to address himself to such, as had formerly, from conscience, supported this accursed American war; that war had originally commenced in the extremities, but it had now pervaded to the heart. They now felt that their long wool had become non-productive, the export of which was all the effect which it could or would produce.

Mr. *T. Pitt* said, that he did not rise to enumerate the many urgent and forcible arguments that were urged the former night in support of this motion; because they had never been contradicted; he delivered it as his opinion, that if the ingenuity of gentlemen on the other side of the House had not been exerted to puzzle and perplex the meaning of the motion made on Friday last, it would have been carried unanimously, or at least by so very considerable a majority, that it would have approached very near to unanimity. He thought it necessary to say, that he was not a factious man; it was well known that he belonged to no party; and that he never would give a vote for either side of the House, unless when he thought the good of his country called for it: in the last debate on the subject of the address, it had been urged on the other side of the House, that the object of the address was to recall the troops from America; but it had no such object; if it had, he certainly would have voted against it; for he was not yet ripe to say that our troops ought to be recalled: nor would he vote for that address, or for the present motion, if he thought that in voting for them, he exceeded the line which the constitution had pointed out for Parliament to pursue. He would not encroach upon the executive power, because, without documents before him, and without that knowledge which could be acquired therefrom, he could not tell what orders ought to be given; he would not pledge Parliament to any measure which should take from ministers the responsibility annexed to their offices: they knew best what to do; they knew the real sense of the Parliament and the nation; and they knew their resources: it was therefore their business to devise plans either for war or peace, and carry them into execution at their own peril. At present the war in America prevented us from acting against France: it crippled all our exertions; and therefore he thought it his duty to vote for a resolution, which held out a prospect of a peace, that would enable us the more effectually to carry on the war against our ancient and natural enemies; and he made no doubt but the sense of the nation would be expressed and re-echoed by the decision of the present question, in the carrying of which he hoped to see something bordering very much on unanimity.

Capt. *John Luttrell* rose to deliver his opinion against the motion; but being considerably embarrassed sat down.

Captain J.
Luttrell.

Mr. *Alderman Newnham* expressed his most hearty assent to the motion, because he hoped it would put an end to a de-

Mr. Ald.
Newnham.

tested and ruinous war, in the reprobation of which there was but one voice in the nation. For his own part, he was sorry that he happened to have been deprived of the pleasure of expressing by vote on Friday last, his abhorrence of that war, and his earnest wish to see it terminated; if he thought so desirable an object had been lost through his absence, he should deservedly lose the good opinion of his constituents; nay, he would undoubtedly have lost his good opinion of himself; as to the question then before the House, he thought it proper to assure gentlemen that nothing would be more acceptable to the city, than to hear that the House had agreed to it: This might appear sufficiently from the petition that had been read; all that remained for him to say was, that it had passed without a single dissentient voice, and if he had not known it sufficiently before, he should have been convinced of it last Saturday, for every man that he met looked upon him with a gloomy face, and seemed to charge him with the continuance of the war. He would undertake to pledge himself in the name of his constituents, that if ministers would make peace with America, and turn the arms of this country against the old and natural enemies of Great Britain, there was no support which they might not expect to receive from the city of London; and see given with the utmost cheerfulness.

Sir Horace
Mann.

Sir *Horace Mann* said, that from principle he had supported the American war, under the idea, first, that it was just; and next, that it was practicable: experience, however had convinced him, that the object we had set out with was unattainable and impracticable: his eyes were now open, and he saw that it would be madness to pursue it any longer: it was therefore the best thing that could be done, in our present situation, to put an end to a war, as speedily as possible, which, if not soon terminated, would put an end to our political existence. With these sentiments, therefore, he must proclaim his conversion, and seal it, by voting for the motion then before the House.

When Sir *Horace Mann* had done, the gentlemen in opposition called loudly and frequently for the question; and no one rising to speak to it, the Speaker ordered the strangers in the gallery to withdraw, and was beginning to read the motion, when at last he was interrupted by

Lord North.

Lord *North*, who rose to oppose it: His Lordship expressed some little surprize at hearing gentlemen call for the question so very soon, and begged that they would moderate their

their ardour until he should have delivered his sentiments on the subject. If the object of the motion was peace, and that an ardent desire to put an end to the war could produce that wished-for blessing, he made no doubt but unanimity would convey one general sense of the House on that subject: — For his part, he would readily confess that peace was the object nearest his heart; the question with him was only how can peace be procured? There were two things to be considered with respect to the war, which he and every man felt to be calamitous and burthenfome; or rather the war was to be considered in two points of view, the war *in* America, and the war *with* America. It was only one of these two objects, that gentlemen seemed so desirous to attain: for, from all that he had heard, he found that no one member had yet ventured to assert, that the troops ought to be withdrawn from America. The end of the war was indeed, what all parties looked to; but how was this to be brought about? He knew only of two means; by peace, or by withdrawing our troops: the latter was a measure, which so far from having been recommended by any one gentleman, seemed to be completely condemned by all: and how was the former practicable? could we make peace when we pleased? or was the mode proposed by the motion the most likely to effect a peace? His objection to the motion did not arise from a want of sincere wishes for peace; but from an idea that the motion was more likely to retard than accelerate so desirable an event. No one had suggested any grounds on which peace could be made; on the contrary, the only mode that seemed to have been pointed out to make hostilities cease, was a total dereliction of the war. But here a difficulty started: how could the House be convinced, that peace was the wish of ministers; was it by seeing that they withdrew the troops? No; for this was a measure that all condemned. Then there was but one other way of convincing the House, that ministers did not intend to carry on the war, as it had hitherto been conducted; and that was, that no army had been, or would be sent out to replace that which had been lost; and that no more troops would be sent out to America, except such recruits as might be necessary to keep up our garrisons: if that could be deemed a pledge and satisfaction to the House, he was ready to give it; but if they suspected the sincerity, ability, or integrity of the servants of the Crown, it was not by such a motion as the present that the House ought to express their backwardness to trust them any longer
with

with the management of public affairs : they ought to address the Crown to remove those ministers, in whom they could not place confidence, and to appoint others in whom they could confide. A minister ought not to be a minister after he was suspected ; he should be like Cæsar's wife, not only free from guilt, but even from suspicion. — If the House should withdraw their confidence from him, it would be his duty, without waiting for an address for his removal, to wait upon his sovereign, and, delivering up to him the seal of his office, say to him, ‘ Sir, I have long served you with diligence, with zeal, and with fidelity ; but success has not crowned my endeavours ; your Parliament have withdrawn from me their confidence ; and all my declarations to them are suspected ; therefore, Sir, let me resign to you those employments, which I ought not to keep longer than I can be serviceable to your Majesty and your subjects ; and beg you will bestow them upon some other, who with greater success, though not with greater zeal or fidelity, may give more satisfaction to your Majesty and your Parliament.’

If the House should not trust to his declarations, he desired them, in the name of God, to find out some better security ; and when they should have found it, he wished they would prefer it to any declaration of any minister ; if they were determined to take upon themselves to prescribe in what manner the war should be pursued, let them declare it ; but let them at the same time, deliver their orders, which no doubt they would and ought to expect to have obeyed, in such clear terms, that ministers might be able to know, for certain, when they were obeying them, or when they were swerving from them. The late motion for an address was certainly not of that nature, for it would have been impossible for any minister to have known how to obey it.

As to peace itself, there were difficulties in the way greater perhaps than gentlemen were aware of. Who would say that America could make peace ? If it was true that France paid, fed, and clothed her troops, could she be said to be free to make peace when she pleased ? Under the British constitution she enjoyed blessings and advantages, many of them greater than even Englishmen enjoyed at home : for this reason he had presumed, that for the vain and empty name of independence, she would not have sacrificed the benefits she enjoyed : he had always said, that the separation of America from Great Britain would be a heavy loss to the latter ; but that it would be a grievous misfortune to the former :

former: his saying would be verified, if, as he had observed before, her independence should be a mere name or empty sound; if, as there was reason to believe, she had only changed masters; and that she had only changed masters was to be presumed; because it could not be supposed that France was a knight errant for liberty, and that too at an immense expence. But still, if peace was to be made, and America free to enter into a treaty, was a public declaration that we would not act in any one given case against her, the means of procuring the best terms? Certainly not; on the contrary, it would produce the opposite effect. But if France was to be reduced before America could treat, then he would contend, in opposition to the motion, that nothing could tend more to weaken our efforts against our inveterate European enemies, than to keep our army in America, with their swords tied up by this declaration. Gentlemen all agreed that the troops should not be withdrawn; if then they kept them in America inactive, did they not by inference say to the French, attack us where you please, you may be always sure that our forces in America shall not act against you or your allies? This would be weakening our efforts; this would be subjecting the nation to an enormous expence without any possible return.

He did not wish to make declarations in that House, because he did not think he was speaking to that House alone; he was speaking to America, to Holland, to France, to Spain, and to all the world: it would not therefore be proper for him to explain himself, any more than for the House to speak plain on so delicate a subject: it would not be proper for him to say what orders might be given, what alliances were in agitation, or on what conditions peace might be eventually obtained; for then France might say to America you are sure at all events of peace; I have held out for your success, do you now hold out a little while for mine. The House would in a variety of circumstances, have opportunities to interfere in any negotiation for peace; for in some points, no minister would dare to treat of peace without the authority of parliament; in some others, the will of ministers would be ineffectual towards peace, without the assistance of parliament. The bill for shutting the ports of America would stand in the way even of a truce, for though ministers might proclaim a truce by land, between the land forces; yet while that bill existed, which confiscated all American property in ships,

no

no truce could be made at sea : parliament of course must be called upon on such an occasion.

He admitted the motion to be perfectly constitutional ; it was its expediency he combated : if ministers were sincere in their propositions, that no troops should be sent to America, a very little time would demonstrate it : but if they should prove insincere, then the present motion, if withdrawn at present, or even negatived, might be renewed, and with propriety ; he therefore wished that it might be delayed, in order to give ministers a trial.

He wished to speak fairly, and to be understood ; and yet he found that it was his misfortune always to be misunderstood or misrepresented ; for he had read in some publications, if the honourable member who made the motion would believe that he read any thing, other than the red book ; he had read in the records of modern history (the news-papers) of Lord North's *war of posts*, when in fact a war of posts was what had never occurred to him ; and though he had used the words, yet it was by way of condemning the idea : however, people were goodnaturedly pleased to ascribe to him a desire to support such a war ; a war which was incompatible with the interest of the country.

The honourable member had mentioned cloven tongues, and said, that those members who supported him in parliament, condemned in coffee-houses the very measures for which they voted in that House : He did not believe that the honourable member was rightly informed respecting the coffee-house conversations ; at least, for his own part, he wished not for such friends ; nor did he believe there were among his friends, with whose support his administration had been honoured, such doubled-tongued senators : it had ever been his wish to stand upon the merits of his cause ; he wished to do so this night ; and therefore he called upon them to oblige him only by voting according to the dictates of their own judgment, and totally to lose sight of every personal consideration to him : the removal of ministers was no punishment ; the King had a right to admit and dismiss from his councils whomever he pleased : and he might, without assigning any cause, or without fixing any guilt upon the person, recall that confidence which he had been graciously pleased to bestow upon any one of his servants : he thanked God that mere disgrace in a ministerial sense was no crime ; and as the constitution had given to the King a power to dismiss his servants at pleasure, so it took care that
the

the dismissal did not render them criminal, because no one, in the eye of the law, can be pronounced criminal without trial.

The *Attorney General* (Mr. Wallace) gave it as his opinion, that in the present circumstances nothing but a peace with America could restore this country to its former state of splendor and respect; but he did not think that the motion on the table was calculated to produce that happy and desirable object; for there were many obstacles to be removed before it was possible for that House to expect to bring the Americans to treat with them. The restrictions in the prohibitory acts must first be removed. The ports of this country must be opened for the trade of the Americans. The prohibition against the Americans, with respect to trading to foreign ports, must also be taken off; and, in short, there were many preliminaries to be settled, which in the raging season of war, when the passions of the two people were irritated by hostilities, could not, in his opinion, be adjusted well, if they could be adjusted at all. It was only by a truce that they could expect to accomplish the object which they all seemed to have in view, and which was indeed become so necessary. By a truce with America the old intimacy between the two people would be renewed; the ships of America would fill our ports — our ships would fill theirs; commerce would return to its old channels; affections would be renewed, and a disposition created favourable to a peace, founded on commercial treaties, in which we might be enabled to enjoy something more substantial than the name of supremacy without the power, and America might enjoy all the blessing of independence, consistent with her old connection with Britain. The learned gentleman urged by various arguments the necessity of a truce, and said that he had prepared a motion for leave to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty's ministers to treat on this ground; for without the authority of Parliament, while those acts remained in force, which he had mentioned, they could not treat with the Americans on this ground. In order, therefore, that the House might have an opportunity to come to this important motion, on which a moment should not be lost, he would move "that the present debate be adjourned for a fortnight."

Mr. *William Pitt* spoke with his usual ability in answer to the noble Lord and the learned gentleman. He said, that from what they had said, if there had been before a number of gentlemen inclined to vote against the motion proposed by the right honourable General, he did not believe that there

Attorney
General

Mr. W. Pitt.

would now be one left unconvinced of the propriety and necessity of that motion. For what had they done? After a great deal of argument needlessly introduced as a preliminary to what was to follow, they had moved for adjourning the present question, in order to bring on one for a truce, thereby hoping to convert a few from their determined purpose, into a delusive vote, which, like all their former promises, would end in deception and disappointment. The minister had said, that "unless Parliament doubted the sincerity of ministers, in the professions which they had given of their inclinations to listen to any terms of accommodation that should come to them, and to which this country could agree, they ought not to tie them down by the resolutions proposed." In answer to this, he must say, that the House could not, with either respect to duty or prudence, place confidence in his Majesty's ministers. Was there a promise they had not falsified? Was there a plan in which they had agreed? Did any two ministers that sat on the treasury bench, agree in any one specific doctrine that they ever broached? No, there was an incessant variation: a shuffling and trifling pervaded their whole conduct, in which parliament could have no trust. The honourable gentleman reviewed their conduct for the present session, and pointed out how inexplicable they had been, and shewed, that the House had neither confidence in their professions, nor in the measures which they had taken. — The motion of the right honourable General was alone that on which the House could depend, as on the full, explicit declaration of that House they would have no changing nor shuffling to apprehend. He enforced it by strong and elegant arguments.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* made an admirable commentary on the speech of Lord North, in which he searched, exposed, and ridiculed the arguments of the noble Lord, as the most absurd and unintelligible he had ever heard; it was very singular that the noble Lord, after making propositions of his particular desire to be explicit, should have entertained the House with such an incomprehensible harangue; of which he could only say that he did not understand a syllable. The noble Lord had said that he was superior to duplicity, perhaps so, and he had taken a curious means of preserving himself from the imputation of duplicity. Duplicity was charged to the man who first said one thing, and afterwards endeavoured to give another meaning to it; but surely he could not be charged with speaking double, who had not said either one thing or another. With respect to the truce proposed by the learned gentleman, it had been done in such

a way, he had risen with such unusual eagerness and anxiety to propose this new plan, that he could not help viewing it as a miserable stratagem, to bring over, at the most, three or four undetermined votes, who might be willing to support ministry if they would, in any shape, agree to get rid of the American war. He argued with great earnestness for the necessity of coming to the motion made by the right honourable General. It was temperate — it was conclusive, and by this the House would secure themselves and their country against the consequences of that shuffling system which no promises could bind, nor experience reform.

The *Lord Advocate* replied to the remark which had fallen from General Conway in his opening speech with respect to his conversion, and to his holding a different language in the House and out of it; he assured the right honourable General, that he never did, out of that House, speak of politics, if he could avoid it, at least he was sure, that he never spoke with a double tongue. He then went into a warm defence of the measure proposed by the learned gentleman, the proposition of moving for a truce. It was the best, the most moderate, and the only method which the House, in the present circumstances, could take, to agree to the temperate plan suggested by that learned gentleman for bringing back America to her former habits of intimacy with this country. He replied at length to the arguments that had been urged on the other side.

Mr. *Fox* spoke next, chiefly in answer to what had come from the noble Lord in the blue ribband, and in a few minutes set the matter in issue in a most clear and forcible point of view. He urged, with the most powerful arguments, the propriety of the motion made by the honourable General; the paltry stratagems to which ministers were reduced, in the last moments perhaps of their existence, to gain a short week, or a day of breath.

Lord *North* rose to explain.

The *Solicitor General*, in a long speech, contended, that the motion of the Attorney General was the most likely means of bringing about what was the general desire of the House.

The honourable Mr. *Herbert* spoke against general Conway's motion.

Mr. *Hill* compared the ministry to Don Quixote, the American war to Dulcinea del Toboso the new Secretary to Sancha Pancha, or rather, he said, he would call him the old Rosinante, on which Don Quixote would ride in order to fight the windmill. He said, that next to peace with heaven,
peace

Ld. Advocate.

Mr. Fox.

Ld. North.
Solicitor General.

Mr. Herbert.

Mr. Hill.

peace with America was to be wished, and that the yearnings of every true Englishman's bowels over our revolted colonies, were but faintly set forth by the yearnings of David's bowels over his revolted son Absalom, and hoped the House would imitate the example of Queen Esther, who presented an address to king Ahasuerus for the life of her people, whilst the wicked minister Haman, who had counselled their destruction, was hanged on a gibbet 50 cubits high. The House laughing; he said, if they laughed at the quotation he had brought from scripture, he hoped it was unnecessary to make any apology for mentioning so obsolete a book as the Bible, as he was pretty confident that book took up but a very little of the time and attention of that honourable House, and could not help wishing it took up much more; but if they supposed he meant to reflect on the noble Lord in the blue ribband, from what he had said, he assured them he had a favourable opinion of him, wished him well, and hoped never to give a vote against him again, because he flattered himself, the noble Lord would, from henceforth, adopt such measures as he could vote for with a safe conscience; but if he put the noble Lord in one scale, and peace with America in the other, the latter would certainly preponderate; and the noble Lord (though not a make weight) would kick the beam. He said, he always wished to support government, for he owned he was educated in tory-rory principles; but he could not support the present system. He concluded, with adding, that when he ceased to vote as he thought right, he trusted his constituents would think it right to vote him out of that House.

Sir William
Dolben.

Sir *William Dolben* said, on Friday last he had voted for the motion, and as he intended this evening to vote against it; although the two were in substance and almost literally the same, he should give his reasons to the House for so doing. The Attorney General had, in the course of his speech, mentioned an intention of bringing in a bill for a truce with America, which, in his opinion, was by far the best mode offered, he should therefore be for rejecting the present question, and for adopting that proposed.

Mr. T.
Townshend

Mr. *T. Townshend* arraigned, with the utmost severity, the inconsistency of the honourable Baronet, who, in the course of a few days, gave two different votes on the same question, although there had not been the least change in affairs to warrant such conduct: He desired him, when he laid down on his pillow, to put his hand to his heart to examine his conscience, and ask himself if he was a consistent man.

Mr.

Mr. *Powys* spoke with feeling and lamentation at the conduct of Sir William Dolben; as a friend he must regret, but as a member of Parliament he must abhor his behaviour; he had a great esteem for his character; but how he could look his constituents, how he could look that House, or how he could look his country in the face, he was at a loss to know.

Sir *Fletcher Norton* spoke also with astonishment at Sir William Dolben's conduct; he demonstrated to the House that the question on Friday evening, and that of this night, were exactly the same in nature, and no change of affairs could warrant any alteration of sentiment with respect to the motion; for a truce as proposed by the learned gentleman, by no means precluded the Baronet from giving his assent to this motion, as in fact this question was a preliminary to a truce, or, to what was much more substantial than a truce, to a conclusive peace.

Sir *William Dolben* rose, and repeated his former reason for his change of conduct.

Mr. *Sheridan*, in a most admirable piece of satire, ridiculed the strange conduct of a man who was the representative of one of our universities, and who from his erudition and character, was supposed to have an influence on country gentlemen.

He reprobated the paltry subterfuge of ministers, in their expressing a wish for a truce, and was confident that every thinking man in the House would see through it, and not be led into the snare artfully laid for them.

Sir *Gilbert Elliot* declared, that he now plainly saw that the nation, the House of Commons, and the ministers, had been for a long time in the wrong; and he could no longer, with justice to his constituents, support their measures. Why gentlemen should make a distinction between the motion as proposed by the honourable General, and that mentioned by the Attorney General, he could not see, for certainly they both went to one and the same point; he should, therefore, give his hearty assent to the present motion.

Mr. *Rosewarne* said, he thought the motion proposed by the learned gentleman was so fair and so candid, that he must wish the present motion was postponed for at least a fortnight, when it might be again resumed, if the other was not approved of; he, therefore, must be against the present question.

General *Conway* rose, and very ably answered every objection that had been started to his motion; he considered the paltry subterfuge, as proposed by the Attorney General, to be the

the desperate attempt of a tottering ministry, and the happy forerunner of their speedy annihilation.

Mr. Rolle. Mr. Rolle spoke in favour of General Conway's motion and thought the two questions were so connected with each other, that every honest man ought to vote for both.

At half past one o'clock the House divided on the Attorney General's motion for adjournment, when the numbers were, Noes 234: ayes 215. — Majority against the minister, 19.

The original question was then put, and carried without a division.

The minister being thus left in a minority, General Conway followed up his first motion with another:

That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to represent to his Majesty, that the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies, tends, under the present circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America; and, by preventing an happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his Majesty to restore the blessings of public tranquillity. This motion was agreed to without a division.

Resolved, That the said address be presented to his Majesty by the whole House.

Ordered, That such members of this House, as are of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, do humbly know his Majesty's pleasure when he will be attended by this House.

An authentic LIST of both MAJORITY and MINORITY, on the above important Motion.

Against the Adjournment.

For the Adjournment.

Earl of Upper Ossory	—	County			
Hon. S. And. St. John	—	Ditto			
Sir William Wake	— —	Bedford	—	—	S. Whibread
					<i>Berks.</i>
John Elwes	— — —	County			
W. H. Hartley	— —	Ditto			

Francis

Against the Adjournment.

Francis Annesley — — Reading
 Richard A. Neville — — Ditto
 Abingdon — —
 Hon. J. Montagu — — Windsor — —
 John Aubrey — — Wallingford
 Chaloner Arcedeckne — — Ditto

For the Adjournment.

J. Mayor
 Pen. Portlock Powney

Bucks.

Earl Verney — — — County
 Thomas Grenville — — Ditto
 James Grenville — — Buckingham
 William Grenville — — Ditto
 Viscount Mahon — — — Wycomb — — — Robert Waller
 Aylesbury — — — Anthony Bacon
 Ditto — — — Thomas Ord
 Marlow — — — Sir Borlase Warren
 Richard Smith — — — Wendover
 J. M. Smith — — — Ditto
 William Drake — — — Amersham
 William Drake, jun. — — Ditto

Cambridgeshire.

Philip Yorke — — — County
 Hon. John Townshend — — University — — — James Mansfield
 Benjamin Keene — — — Cambridge
 J. W. Adeane — — — Ditto

Cheshire.

J. Crewe — — — County
 Sir R. S. Cotton — — — Ditto
 R. Wilb. Bootle — — — Chester — — — Thomas Grosvenor

Cornwall.

Sir William Lemon, Bart. County
 Ed. Elliot — — — Ditto
 Launceston — — — T. Boulby
 Ditto — — — Hon. C. G. Percival
 Samuel Salt — — — Liskeard
 Hon. Wm. Tollemache — — — Ditto
 Lestwithiel — — — Lord Malden
 Truro — — — Bamber Gascoyne
 Ditto — — — Henry Roswarne
 George Hunt — — — Bodmyn — — — William Masterman
 Helfton — — — Lord Hyde
 Ditto — — — Richard Barwell
 Saltash — — — Sir Grey Cooper
 Ditto — — — Right Hon. C. Jenkinson
 Eastlo — — — J. Buller

Sir

*Against the Adjournment**For the Adjournment*

	Ditto — — —	W. Graves
	Westloo — — —	Sir William James
Sir John Ramsden — — —	Grampound	
Thomas Lucas — — —	Ditto	
	Camelford — — —	J. Pardoe
	Ditto — — —	James M'Pherson
	Penryn — — —	Sir Francis Basset
	Ditto — — —	J. Rogers
	Tregony — — —	J. Stephenson
	Ditto — — —	J. Dawes
	St. Ives — — —	William Praed
	Ditto — — —	Abel Smith
	Fowey — — —	Philip Rashleigh
	Ditto — — —	Lord Shuldham
Edward J. Elliot — — —	St. Germain's	
Dudley Long — — —	Ditto	
	Michael — — —	Francis Hale
	Callington — — —	George Stratton
	Ditto — — —	J. Morshead

Cumberland.

Henry Fletcher — — —	County
Earl of Surrey — — —	Carlisle
William Lowther — — —	Ditto
John Lowther — — —	Cockermouth
J. B. Carforth — — —	Ditto

Derbyshire.

Lord George Cavendish	County — — —	Hon. Nat. Curzon
Edward Coke — — —	Derby	

Devonshire.

John Parker — — —	County	
John Rolle — — —	Ditto	
Robert Palke — — —	Ashburton — — —	Charles Boone
Lord Viscount Howe — — —	Dartmouth	
Art. Holdsworth — — —	Ditto	
Humph. Minchin — — —	Okehampton	
Sir George Yonge, Bart.	Honiton	
J. Wilkinon — — —	Ditto	
Sir F. L. Rogers — — —	Plymouth — — —	George Darby
	Beerallston — — —	Lord Fielding
	Ditto — — —	Lawrence Coxe
	Plympton — — —	Sir R. Payne
	Ditto — — —	Hon. J. Stuart
	Totnefs — — —	Lau. Browne
	Barnstaple — — —	J. Cleveland

Hon.

*Against the Adjournment**For the Adjournment*

Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick	Barnstaple	Francis Bassett
J. Baring	Tavistock	Rt. Hon. Richard Rigby
	Exeter	

Dorsetshire.

Hump. Sturt	County	
	Dorchester	William Ewer
	Lyme	Hon. Henry Fane
	Ditto	D. R. Mitchell
	Weymouth, &c.	Rt. Hon. Welbore Ellis
	Ditto	Gabriel Steward
	Ditto	Wm. Rd. Rumbold
Thomas Scott	Bridport	
Richard Beckford	Ditto	
Hans Win. Mortimer	Shaftesbury	Sir Francis Sykes
	Wareham	J. Boyd.
Henry Banks	Corfe Castle	J. Bond
W. Morton Pitt	Poole	Joseph Gulston

Durham.

J. Lambton	County	Sir Thomas Clavering
John Tempest	Durham	
	Ditto	

Ebor.

Sir G. Savile	County	
Henry Duncombe	Ditto	
	Aldborough	Charles Mellish
Sir James Pennyman	Beverley	
Evelyn Anderfon	Ditto	
	Heydon	William Chaytor
	Ditto	Christopher Atkinson
Lord Viscount Duncannon	Knarefborough	
James Hare	Ditto	
William Weddell	Malton	
Edmund Burke	Ditto	
Henry Peirfe	Northallerton	Edw. Lascelles
William Nedham	Pontefract	
Marquis of Graham	Richmond	
Hon. G. Fitzwilliam	Ditto	
William Lawrence	Rippon	Hon. Frederick Robinson
Earl Tyrconnell	Scarborough	Hon. C. Phipps
Sir T. Gascoigne	Thirsk	
Beil. Thompson	Ditto	
Lord John Cavendish	York	
Charles Turner	Ditto	
William Wilberforce	Hull	

*Against the Adjournment**For the Adjournment**Essex.*

J. Luther — — —	County — —	T. B. Bramston
Sir Robert Smyth — — —	Colchester	
Christopher Potter — —	Ditto	
	Harwich — —	Hon. G. A. North

Gloucestershire.

Sir William Guise — —	County	
Sir William Codrington	Tewkesbury	
James Martin — —	Ditto	
	Cirencester — —	James Whithead
	Ditto — —	Samuel Blackwell
Charles Barrow — —	Gloucester	
J. Webb — — —	Ditto	

Herefordshire.

Sir G. Cornwall — —	County — —	Right Hon. T. Harley
J. Scudamore — —	Hereford — —	Sir Richard Symonds
Richard Payne Knight —	Leominster — —	Lord Viscount Bateman
	Woolly — —	J. St. Leger Douglas

Hertfordshire.

William Plumer — —	County	
William Baker — —	Hertford	
Baron Dimsdale — —	Ditto	
J. Radcliffe — —	St. Albans	
W. C. Sloper. — —	Ditto	

Huntingdonshire.

Earl of Ludlow — —	County — —	Lord Vis. Hinchinbrook
	Huntingdon — —	Lord Mulgrave
	Ditto — —	Sir H. Palliser

Kent.

Hon. Charles Marham	County	
Filmer Honeywood — —	Ditto	
Robert Gregory — —	Rocheſter — —	G. F. Hatton
	Queenborough —	Sir Walter Rawlinſon
Sir Horace Mann — —	Maidſtone	
Clement Taylor — —	Ditto	
George Gipps — —	Canterbury	
Charles Robinſon — —	Ditto	

Lancashire.

Thomas Stanley — —	County — —	Sir T. Egerton
Wilſon Braddyll — —	Lancaster — —	Abraham Rawlinſon
J. Burgeyne — —	Pleſton — —	Sir H. Houghton

Hon.

*Against the Adjournment**For the Adjournment*

		Liverpool	——	Bamber Gascoyne, jun.
		Ditto	——	Henry Rawlinson
Hon. H. Walpole	——	Wigan		
T. Lister	——	Clitheroe		
J. Parker	——	Ditto		
		Newton	——	T. Davenport

Leicestershire.

William Pochin	——	County	——	J. P. Hungerford
Hon. Booth Grey	——	Leicester	——	J. Darker

Lincolnshire.

Charles Anderson Pelham		County		
Sir J. Thorold	——	Ditto		
		Stamford	——	Sir George Howard
		Ditto	——	H. Cecil
George Sutton	——	Grantham	——	F. Cockayne Cuff
		Boston	——	Humphrey Sibthorpe
J. Harrison	——	Grimby	——	Francis Eyre
Sir T. Clarges	——	Lincoln	——	Robert Vyner

Middlesex.

J. Wilkes	——	County		
Frederick Bull	——	London		
J. Sawbridge	——	Ditto		
Nathaniel Newnham	——	Ditto		
Sir Watkin Lewes	——	Ditto		
Hon. Charles J. Fox		Westminster		

Monmouthshire.

J. Hanbury	——	County		
J. Morgan	——	Ditto		
		Monmouth	——	Sir J. Stepney

Norfolk.

Sir Edward Ashley	——	County		
T. W. Coke	——	Ditto		
Crisp. Molineux	——	Lynn		
Hon. Richard Walpole	——	Yarmouth	——	Rt. Hon. Ch. Townshend
Richard Hopkins	——	Thetford		
		Castlerising		Robert Mackreth
		Ditto	——	J. Chet. Talbot
Sir Harbord Harbord	——	Norwich		

Northamptonshire.

Lucy Knightly	——	County		
Thomas Powys	——	Ditto		

*Against the Adjournment**For the Adjournment*

Richard Benyon — —	Peterborough	
James Phipps — —	Ditto	
	Brackley — —	J. W. Egerton
	Ditto — —	Timothy Caswell
Lord Viscount Althorpe	Northampton — —	George Rodney
Frederick Montagu — —	Higham Ferrers	

Northumberland.

Sir William Middleton	County	
	Morpeth — —	Peter Delme
	Ditto — —	Anthony Storer
Sir Matthew Ridley	Newcastle	
	Berwick — —	Sir J. Delaval
	Ditto — —	Hon. J. Vaughan

Nottinghamshire.

Charles Meadows — —	County	
	Retford — —	Wharton Amcotts
Lord George Sutton —	Newark	
Robert Smith — —	Nottingham — —	Daniel Parker Coke

Oxon.

	County — —	Lord Charles Spencer
Lord Robert Spencer —	Oxford	
Hon. Per. Berrie	Ditto	
	University — —	Sir William Dolben
	Ditto — —	Francis Page
	Woodstock — —	Lord Parker
	Banbury — —	Lord North

Rutlandshire.

County — —	G. B. Brudenell
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Salop.

Noel Hill — —	County	
Richard Hill — —	Ditto	
Sir Charlton Leighton	Shrewsbury — —	William Pulteney
	Ludlow — —	Lord Clive
	Ditto — —	Frederick Cornewall
Thomas Whitmore —	Bridgenorth	
Hugh Pigot — —	Ditto	
	Bishops Castle —	Henry Strachey
	Ditto — —	William Clive

Somersetshire.

Sir J. Trevelyan — —	County	
	Ilchester — —	Samuel Smith

J. Penning-

*Against the Adjournment**For the Adjournment*

J. Pennington — —
 Clement Tudway — —
 Robert Child — —

Milborn Port — —
 Wells
 Ditto

J. Townson

Hon. J. Jeff. Pratt — —
 F. Fownes Luttrell — —

Bridgewater — —
 Bath — —
 Minehead
 Bristol — —
 Ditto — —

Hon. Anne Poulett
 Abel Moysey
 Matthew Brickdale
 George Daubeny

Southampton County.

Robert Thistlethwayte —
 Jer. Clarke Jervoise —

County
 Ditto

Winchester — —
 Ditto — —
 Portsmouth — —
 Newport — —
 Ditto — —

H. Penton
 Lovel Stanhope
 Sir William Gordon
 Sir Richard Worsley
 Hon. J. St. John

Edward Morant — —

Yarmouth — —
 Newtown — —
 Limington — —
 Christchurch — —

Sir Thomas Rumbold
 Edward M. Worsley
 Edward Gibbon
 J. Frederick

Sir J. Griffin Griffin —
 Benjamin Letheuillier —
 Lord Viscount Midleton
 Right Hon. T. Townshend

Andover
 Ditto
 Whitchurch
 Ditto

Petersfield — —
 Ditto — —
 Stockbridge — —
 Southampton — —

William Jolliffe
 T. S. Jolliffe
 Hon. J. Luttrell
 Hans Sloane

John Fuller — —

Staffordshire.

Sir J. Wrottesley — —
 Hon. E. Monckton — —
 R. B. Sheridan — —

County — —
 Stafford
 Ditto

Lord Viscount Lewisham

Tamworth — —
 Ditto — —
 Newcastle — —

J. Courteney
 J. Calvert
 Arch. M'Donald

George Anfon
 Thomas Gilbert

Litchfield
 Ditto

Suffolk.

Sir T. C. Bunbury — —
 Sir J. Rous — —
 T. Staunton — —
 Sir G. W. Vanneck — —

County
 Ditto
 Ipswich
 Dunwich
 Orford — —
 Ditto — —

Barne Barne
 Lord Vis. Beauchamp
 Hon. R. S. Conway

Against the Adjournment

Sir C. Davers
Rt. Hon. H. S. Conway

Aldeburgh	—	—	Martin Fonnereau
Sudbury	—	—	Sir J. Marriot
Eye	—	—	R. Philipson
Ditto	—	—	A. Jones Skelton
Bury			
Ditto			

*For the Adjournment**Surrey.*

Admiral Keppel	—	—	County
Sir Joseph Mawbey	—	—	Ditto
			Gatton
			Ditto
Edward Norton	—	—	Lord Newhaven
W. Spencer Stanhope			R. Mayne
Sir Robert Clayton	—	—	Hadlemere
			Ditto
			Bletchingly
			Rygate
Rt. Hon. Sir F. Norton			Guildford
Sir Richard Hotham	—	—	Southwark
Nathaniel Polhill			Ditto
			J. Kenrick
			Hon. J. York
			George Onflow

Suffex.

Lord George Lenox	—	—	County
Hon. T. Pelham	—	—	Ditto
			Horsham
			Ditto
Sir H. Gough	—	—	James Wallace
Hon. H. F. Stanhope	—	—	Sir G. Osborne
J. Peachy	—	—	Bramber
			Ditto
			Shoreham
			Midhurst
			Ditto
			East Grinstead
			Ditto
Sir T. G. Skipwith	—	—	Sir C. Bishop
P. W. Baker	—	—	Henry Drummond
Thomas Kemp	—	—	Sir Samson Gideon
Thomas Steele	—	—	Sir J. Irwin
			H. A. Herbert
			Steyning
			Arundel
			Lewes
			Chichester
			Thomas Fitzherbert

Warwickshire.

Sir Robert Lawley	—	—	County
Sir G. Shuckburgh	—	—	Ditto
Robert Ladbroke	—	—	Warwick
			Coventry
			Ditto
			Hon. C. Greville
			Edward Roe Yeo
			Lord Sheffield

Westmorland.

James Lowther	—	—	County
Phil. Honeywood	—	—	Appleby
Hon. W. Pitt	—	—	Ditto

Wills.

*Against the Adjournment**For the Adjournment**Wills.*

C. Penruddock	County	
William Hufley	Salisbury	
Hon. W. H. Bouverie	Ditto	
	Devizes	Sir J. T. Long
	Ditto	Henry Jones
	Marlborough	Earl of Courtown
Henry Dawkins	Chippenham	
John Dunning	Calne	
Right Hon. J. Barré	Ditto	
	Malmfbury	Lord Viscount Fairford
	Ditto	J. Calvert, jun.
	Hindon	Nat. W. Wrexall
T. Pitt	Old Sarum	
W. P. A'Court	Heytesbury	Francis Burton
Samuel Eftwick	Westbury	
J. Whalley Gardiner	Ditto	
	Wooton Bassett	Hon. H. St. John
	Ditto	William Strahan
	Luggershall	G. Aug. Selwyn
Lord Herbert	Wilton	
	Downton	Hon. H. S. Conway
	Ditto	Robert Shaftoe
	Bedwin	Paul Cob, Methuen

Worcestershire.

Hon. Edward Foley	County	
Wm. Lygon	Ditto	
Sir J. Rushout	Evesham	
C. W. Broughton Rouse	Ditto	
Hon. A. Foley	Droitwich	
Edward Winnington	Ditto	
T. Bates Rous	Worcester	Hon. Wm. Ward
	Bewdly	Lord Westcote

Cinque Ports.

	Hastings	Lord Vis. Palmerston
	Ditto	J. Old
	Sandwich	Phillip Stephens
	Ditto	Sir R. Sutton
John Trevannion	Dover	Sir J. Henniker
	Romney	Sir Edward Deering
	Hythe	Sir Charles Farnaby
	Rye	W. Dickenson
	Ditto	Hon. T. Onslow
J. Nesbit	Winchelsea	
	Seaford	J. Durand

Wales

*Against the Adjournment.**For the Adjournment.**Wales.*

Lord Viscount Bulkeley	-	Anglesea		
Sir George Warren	—	Beaumarris		
Charles Morgan	—	Breconshire		
		Brecon	—	Sir C. Gould
		Cardigan	—	J. Campbell
J. Vaughan	—	Caermarthenshire		
J. Parry	—	Carnarvonshire		
		Carnarvon	—	Glynn Wynne
Sir W. W. Wynne, Bart.		Denbighshire		
Richard Middleton	—	Ditto		
Sir Roger Mostyn	—	Flintshire		
Watkin Williams	—	Flint		
Ch. Edwin	—	Glamorganshire		
E. L. Vaughan	—	Merionethshire		
W. Mostyn Owen	—	Montgomeryshire		
		Montgomery	—	Whitshed Keene
		Haverfordwest	—	Lord Kenington
		Radnorshire	—	T. Johnes
		Radnor	—	Edward Lewis

Scotland.

		Kintore, &c.	—	Staates Long Morris
		Airshire	—	Sir Adam Ferguson
		Argyleshire	—	Lord F. Campbell
Earl of Fife	—	Banffshire		
		Berwickshire	—	Hugh Scott
		Lauder, &c.	—	Francis Charteris
		Dumfriesshire	—	Sir R. Laurie
		Dumfries, &c.	—	Sir R. Herries
		Edinburghshire	—	Henry Dundas
J. Hunter Blair	—	Edinburgh		
		Elginshire	—	Lord William Gordon
		Fifehire	—	Robert Skene
		Anstruther, &c.	—	Sir J. Anstruther
		Aberbrothick, &c.	—	Adam Drummond
		Haddingtonshire	—	Hugh Dalrymple
		Kincardineshire	—	Lord A. Gordon
		Kircudbrightshire		P. Johnstone
		Kinrosshire	—	Geo. Graham
		Lanerkshire	—	Andrew Stuart
		Linlithgowshire	—	Sir W. A. Cunningham
		Culrofs, &c.	—	James Campbell
		Perthshire	—	Hon. J. Murray
J. Shaw Stewart	—	Renfrewshire		
Sir G. Elliott	—	Roxburghshire		
		Selkirk, &c.	—	Sir J. Cockburn

Against the Adjournment.

Sir T. Dundas — 234

For the Adjournment.

Sirlingshire

Sutherlandshire —

Hon. J. Wemyss

Wigtownshire —

Hon. K. Stewart — 215

T E L L E R S.

Lord Maitland — —

Newport, Cornwall

G. Byng — —

Middlesex

Harwich —

J. Robinson

Stranrawre, &c.

W. Adam

The following Noblemen and Gentlemen paired off:

Ambrose Goddard —	Wilts	with Richard Vernon, Oakhampton.
Sir Ph. J. Clerke —	Totness,	with Earl Nugent, St. Maw's
Lord G.A.H. Cavendish	Derby,	with W. Hanger, Michael.
J. Bullock — — —	Steyning,	with J. Strutt, Malden.
Charles Dundas —	Orkneys,	with Sir J. Durham.
Rt.Hon.W.G.Hamilton	Wilton,	with Earl of Lisburne, Cardiganshire.
Thomas Halley — —	Herts,	with George Ross, Cromartyshire.

February 28.

The *Attorney-General* rose almost as soon as the Speaker had taken the chair, and moved for leave to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty to conclude a peace or truce with the revolted colonies of America. He said he would not then enter into any detail of the nature of the bill; but would reserve himself for another opportunity, when he should have to speak to a fuller House.

The Attorney General.

This brought on a conversation which lasted about a quarter of an hour.

Mr. *T. Townshend* wished the right honourable member would even then, thin as the House was, enter into a detail, or give some explanation of the particular objects of his bill.

Mr. Thomas Townshend.

Sir *George Yonge*, on the contrary, wished that no explanation should be given in so thin a House: on the very principle of the bill, there must be great ground for explanation, without speaking of the detail; for if he was not mistaken, reference must be had to acts of Parliament for a century back; and therefore it would be needless to explain at this time, what must be explained over again in a full House.

Sir George Yonge.

Mr. Baker. Mr. *Baker* said, that as the bill must go to repeal or alter the prohibitory act, and also the navigation act; and as such a repeal or alteration must affect the trade of this country, he submitted to the House, whether in point of order, the bill could be brought in, before the proposition should first have passed through a previous Committee. He wished also, that some delay should take place, till an answer should be received to the address, which had yesterday been voted to his Majesty.

Mr. Hufsey Mr. *Hufsey* objected to a moment's delay, lest it should be said that the House of Commons had rejected the very first proposition for peace, after the vote they had passed the night before.

Mr. Fox, Mr. *Fox* said, that though no man wished more ardently for peace than he did, still he did not see the necessity of passing any bill on the subject in the very first instance. Ministers might enter into a negotiation, and apply to Parliament as soon as their assistance should be wanted. Whoever should have the conclusion of the business, whether the present ministers or others, they must act upon entirely new principles: for his part, he thought the idea of sovereignty over America, ought to be totally renounced; but still he hoped that no one would give up America, without obtaining a substantial connection with her.

Mr. Rigby. Mr. *Rigby* was of opinion, that no man spoke in general more substantially than the honourable gentleman; but still he must confess that he could not reconcile his two ideas of renouncing the sovereignty of America, and preserving a substantial connection with her. He was afraid the honourable gentleman wanted to retain under one name what he was so ready to renounce under another. For his own part, he did not entertain an idea of preserving the sovereignty over America; he gave that up for the same reason that he gave up the war—because he could not help it. He thought the bill proposed ought not to be delayed. He was not in the secrets of ministers; but who could tell that some progress might not have been already made in a negotiation, and that the bill was necessary to the conclusion of it?

Mr. Fox. Mr. *Fox* did not mean by substantial connection, any advantage whatever that we should have a right to enforce: he meant such a connection as we have with Portugal; such as we had with Holland.

The Attorney General. The *Attorney-General* thought, that after what he had pledged himself to last night, it would have been unpardonable

able in him not to take the very earliest opportunity to promote that peace, which seemed to be the object of every gentleman's wish. In the bill appointing Commissioners to treat with America, there was a clause empowering them to suspend the Prohibitory act, which, though it related to the trade of this country, did not pass through a previous committee: however, he was very willing to send his proposition to a previous committee of the whole House; and he made a motion to that effect accordingly; which was carried without any farther debate.

Lord *Hinchinbrook* reported to the House, that his Majesty, having been waited upon (pursuant to the order of yesterday) humbly to know his Majesty's pleasure, when he would be pleased to be attended by this House, had been pleased to appoint to be attended to-morrow, at three of the clock, at his palace of St. James's.

March 1.

In a committee of ways and means, resolved, that there be applied towards the supply, 200,000*l.* out of the monies remaining in the receipt of the Exchequer, on the 10th of October, 1781, for the disposition of Parliament, of the surplusses, excesses, overplus monies, and other revenues composing the fund, commonly called the sinking-fund.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for restraining any person, being a member of the House of Commons, from being concerned himself, or any person in trust for him, in any contract made by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, the Commissioners of the Navy, the Board of Ordnance, or by any other person or persons, for the public service, unless the said contract shall be made at a public bidding. Ordered, and that Sir Philip Jennings Clerke and Mr. Fox do prepare and bring in the same."

March 4.

Mr. *Speaker* reported to the House, that the House attended his Majesty on Friday last with their address; to which his Majesty was pleased to return this most gracious answer:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

There are no objects nearer to my heart than the ease, happiness, and prosperity of my people.

Y y 2

You

You may be assured, that, in pursuance of your advice, I shall take such measures as shall appear to me to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both; and that my efforts shall be directed in the most effectual manner against our European enemies, until such a peace can be obtained as shall consist with the interests and permanent welfare of my kingdoms.

Gen. Conway.

General Conway rose to move an address to his Majesty. He was sorry, he said, that it had fallen to his lot to trouble the House so often; but he hoped that they would excuse him, on account of the great importance of the subject; on which he had so often taken the liberty to solicit their attention; often foiled in the course of the present war, in his attempt to put an end to hostilities with America, he had for once succeeded in a motion from which great expectations might be formed, though he had no great reason to flatter himself or the House very much from the answer that had been made to the address, which had followed his motion, as it was not quite so explicit as he could have wished; however, he thought it right and proper to return thanks for it to the throne, expressive of the satisfaction of the House, at those pacific dispositions which were manifested in his Majesty's answer. But he trusted he should be seconded by the House, in his desire to secure themselves, and this country, against the possibility of a doubt that the American war was not now completely concluded. Something, perhaps, might yet be wanting to confirm the resolution of the House last Wednesday; something by which ministers would be so expressly bound, that however desirous of evasion, they would not have it in their power to evade the injunction of that House; but now he would move, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House, for his most gracious answer to their address presented to his Majesty on Friday last, and for the assurances his Majesty has most graciously been pleased to give them of his intention, in pursuance of the advice of this House, to take such measures as shall appear most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies; and that his efforts shall be directed in the most effectual manner against our European enemies, until such a peace can be obtained as shall consist with the permanent welfare and prosperity of his kingdoms: This House being convinced that

that nothing can, in the present circumstances of this country, so essentially promote those great objects of his Majesty's paternal care for his people, as the measures which his faithful Commons have most humbly but earnestly recommended to his Majesty."

Lord *Althorpe* said a few words to second the motion. If it was necessary for the honourable General, with his brilliant abilities, to apologize for troubling the House, how much more occasion had he to do so? But he should consider himself as wanting in duty to his sovereign, if he did not, in the present instance, rise to second the motion for the address of thanks: At the same time, he said, he was not wholly and perfectly satisfied with the answer that had been given to the late address; and he wished that the honourable member would take some step that might tend to enforce the spirit of that address. With respect to the motion then before the House, he hoped it would be carried unanimously, as a mark of that respect which the House entertained for his Majesty.

The *Speaker* read the motion; and, having put the question, it was carried *nemine contradicente*.

General *Conway* informed the House, that he had another proposition to make, which he thought absolutely necessary, and without which the great point that had been carried on Wednesday last, would be rendered nugatory and ineffectual. He was really ashamed to speak so often to the House on the subject of the American war; but he trusted this would be the last time he should obtrude himself on their patience. His habits and disposition were so contrary to the principles of this war, that he absolutely had a most rooted aversion to it; and, therefore, though he was convinced that he had spoken too often on the subject, he could not resist the impulse he felt to rive, if possible, those fetters, which he hoped the address voted on Wednesday had put upon the American war. There were several strong reasons which urged him to persevere in making use of every means in his power to put an end to it. He had every reason to believe that there was a general desire in the Americans to make peace with Great Britain. There were persons at no great distance, authorised to treat with us about peace: and though hitherto the Americans had not bound themselves to any specific proposition relative to the West Indies, or an exclusive trade to France, which could stand in the way of a separate peace he was given to understand that some-

Lord Althorpe.

The Speaker.

Gen. Conway.

something was in agitation, or on the tapis with the court of France, which, if concluded, would be of irreparable disadvantage to this country; our readiness to treat with America would, in all probability, prevent any thing definitive from being concluded between the Congress and France. These were his reasons for wishing for an immediate cessation of hostilities with America, and recommending to government, that, without loss of time, they would open a treaty of peace with America. The answer delivered to the address on Friday, was by no means generally understood; it was conveyed in a language not any ways satisfactory, as it did not say his Majesty would put an end to the American war, but that he would take such measures as appeared to him, that is, to his ministers, to be most conducive to harmony; he had no doubt of his Majesty's gracious intention; yet as the same men had openly declared in that House, that, to make peace with America, you must make them feel the calamities of the war, it was not unnatural to think that they would still advise vigorous measures to be pursued, especially as they chose not to understand what the true intent and meaning of the words offensive war conveyed; he had himself always been bred up in the military line, and nothing could appear more clear than the meaning of the words offensive and defensive. The prayer of the address was to put an instant end to the American war as a basis for a peace; and as there were persons near at hand properly authorised to treat for the same, undoubtedly it meant to negotiate with them, as the most speedy measure that could be adopted; now was the time for the blow to be struck, before it was too late; and as, from the present answer, his Majesty's ministers might screen themselves from the public, by saying, they took such measures as appeared to them most conducive to putting an end to the war; they might think, that a war of posts, which had been so variously described, was the most proper measure; that the keeping the posts we had already got, or the abandoning them and choosing new ones, was the best; or they might think the recruiting the army lost under Lord Cornwallis, was a proper measure; yet, in his opinion, none of those heads were left to their choice, for they were bound to put an immediate stop to the war, and those who advised his Majesty to the contrary, were highly criminal, and ought to be brought to justice. He would therefore move a resolution, which would make the

the

the sense of this House so clear and manifest, that his Majesty's ministers could not possibly mistake it; and by which the House and the country would have the satisfaction of knowing that this mad war would no longer be pursued — His motion was "That, after the solemn declaration of the opinion of this House in their humble address presented to his Majesty on Friday last, and his Majesty's assurance of his gracious intention, in pursuance of their advice, to take such measures as shall appear to his Majesty to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both, this House will consider as enemies to his Majesty and this country, all those who shall endeavour to frustrate his Majesty's paternal care for the ease and happiness of his people, by advising, or by any means attempting, the farther prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force."

Lord *Althorpe* rose to second the motion, which he did in a few words. He coincided entirely with the right honourable General, that this was wanting to finish and complete the business of the week before; and this, no doubt, would give complete satisfaction to every man. His Lordship declared, that one great inducement to him to second this motion, was, because he felt in his own mind, a want of confidence in the present administration, which their continued series of ill success, was alone sufficient to justify; he thought, therefore, the House could not be too cautious in having their sense and wishes as explicitly declared as possible. The line of conduct this motion (superadded to that of Wednesday,) would most plainly chalk out, he flattered himself, would lead to peace with America, and by putting an end to that fatal war, which had caused all our calamities, he trusted an end would also be put to the present administration. Lord Althorpe.

Lord *North* did not rise, he said, to give any opposition to the motion; but he would observe at the same time, that he could not by any means agree with those who thought it necessary: in his opinion, it had for its object only to strengthen that which was sufficiently strong already. — The majority of that House had resolved, that peace should be made with America; and the answer given from the throne, to the address which had been voted on that occasion, was so satisfactory, Lord North

tory, that the House had just declared, that it was a satisfactory answer, by unanimously concurring in a motion to return thanks to his Majesty for making it : where, therefore, could be the ground for coming to a resolution, which seemed to doubt the propriety or sincerity of that answer, for which thanks had been just voted without one dissentient voice ? He was not of the disposition of those who complained of majorities in that House ; who condemned them ; and by factious and seditious misrepresentations, held them out to the public in the most odious colours : A majority of that House was, in Parliamentary language, the House itself ; it could never make him change a single opinion, yet he bowed to that opinion which was sanctioned by the majority ; though he might not be a convert to such opinion, still he held it to be his indispensable duty to obey it, and never once to lose sight of it, in the advice which as a servant of the crown, he should have occasion to give his Sovereign. It was the right of that House to command ; it was the duty of a minister to obey its resolutions ; Parliament had already expressed its desires or its orders, and as it was scarcely possible that a minister should be found hardy, daring, infamous enough to advise his Sovereign to differ in opinion from his Parliament, so he could not think that the present motion, which must suppose the existence of such a minister, could be at all necessary.

He could not help however observing, that when Parliament was giving orders, the breach of which was to draw down upon ministers the infamy of being deemed enemies to their King and country, these orders should be so clear, so plain, and so explicit, that it would be impossible for ministers to mistake their meaning : he was sorry, that in the present instance, this was not the case ; for the resolution of Wednesday last, of which the present was a kind of confirmation, was clouded with obscurity, which would render it impossible for a minister to know for certain, whether he was adhering to, or deviating from, the orders of the House. If he understood those orders right, and if he did not, he wished the House would explain them to him, the object of the late address was peace with America ; and that keeping this object in view, all the measures that ministers should advise, were to be calculated to effect that object as soon as possible.

Several voices were heard to cry no, no.—Lord North wished then to be informed if he had mistaken the meaning of the resolution.

General

General *Conway* upon this, rose to explain the meaning of the address: the noble Lord, he said, had totally mistaken it; the meaning was not that peace should be made with America as soon as possible; but that the offensive war with America should immediately cease; the object of the address was an immediate cessation of all hostile operations in the field, though it did not by any means go to withdraw the forces, or to prohibit a defensive war. It did not recommend to Ministers to seize the first opportunity of making peace with America that might offer, but it expressly directed an immediate operation of war, by ordering that Ministers should instantly forego a prosecution of offensive war with America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force. Men, the General said, naturally expressed their ideas in that way which their education made most familiar to them. Having been bred in the army, he had chosen a military term to convey his meaning to the House, and to a military man nothing could be a more clear, distinct, and simple idea, than that of offensive war. Without going into a long discussion of the nature of the several sorts of wars, a war of posts, &c. &c. that had been talked of by different gentlemen on a former day, he had expressly used the term offensive war, and as offensive and defensive war, were contrasted terms extremely simple, he could not help wondering that any difficulty should be made, at least if there was, he thought he ought to have been helped to a more distinct term than that of offensive war, by those who affected not to understand it. The General said, he recollected in the last war prince Ferdinand had, previous to the commencement of a campaign, wrote home for instructions whether it was the wish of the Minister that he should make an offensive or a defensive campaign. The compliment was paid him, of desiring him to make which ever he thought most advisable; but neither in the army in Germany, nor at home, was any the least doubt entertained of the essential difference between offensive and defensive war. The General added some other arguments to prove that the terms he had adopted, were perfectly intelligible, that they certainly were not to give Ministers any instructions to seize the first opportunity that might offer, of making peace, but immediately to forego any further prosecution of offensive war with America, for the purpose of reducing America to obedience by force.

Lord *North* replied, that as far as he was concerned, he would make it his study, because it was his duty, to fulfil, to

the utmost of his power, the orders of Parliament. He would make it his study, of course, to understand them. A little time would make it appear, whether he was sincere or not. If he should be found to have deviated from the sense of the House, then he should acknowledge himself to be a criminal indeed: but if, in the prosecution of this business, he should be found to have acted only erroneously, where it should be clear that it was his intention, *bonâ fide*, to adhere to the sense of the House, he trusted that he should find in that House judges who would overlook errors, when they should be convinced that the intention was fair and upright.

Mr. T. Pitt. Mr. T. Pitt was of opinion, that the resolution of Wednesday last was so clear and explicit, that it was not possible, that its true meaning could be misunderstood: if that part of it which declared, that the war should no longer be carried on in America, seemed to admit of any difficulty it was sufficiently cleared away by the subsequent part — “for the impracticable object of reducing the colonies to obedience by force.” If the question was merely military, he must at that time make a very awkward figure in speaking upon it; but it was of a political nature; it was whether the war should be prosecuted on the continent of North America for the purpose of subduing it by force? to this question it was perfectly competent for him to speak; and therefore he was free to say that such a war was completely condemned by the resolution. — Whether our present posts in America should be changed for others more convenient or advantageous — whether our troops should go out to forage, or attempt to repel an assailing enemy; these were questions of a military nature, upon which it was not his business to decide: he left all this to the executive power, to act at their own peril: for he would not consent that Parliament should take from ministers an atom of their responsibility.

He was happy to see that the noble Lord in the blue ribband found it inconvenient to make any opposition to the motion. It was a happy omen for this country, and he congratulated them upon it.

Lord Howe. Lord Howe felt an inconvenience or impropriety in the wording of the resolution before the House, which he thought ought to be removed; as it then stood, it would involve in guilt, and brand with the name of enemies to their country, even the lowest subalterns in the army, who should act contrary to the late resolution of that House: now in his opinion, the great object of the resolution was to restrain ministers

ters from ordering the troops to prosecute the war ; and the restraining ministers would, in effect, restrain the army ; and as it might be dangerous to carry the restriction down to the subalterns, as it would make them criminal, and responsible to a part of the constitution, from which they did not usually receive orders, so he thought it would be proper to make an amendment in the motion ; and instead of saying, ‘ that all those should be deemed enemies to their King and country, who should advise, or by any means attempt the prosecution of the war,’ &c. to say, ‘ who should advise, or direct the prosecution,’ &c. This he said, would confine the resolution to those to whom it ought constitutionally to be confined — the ministers of the crown.

He said, he clearly saw the meaning and tendency of the motion ; but he felt that officers acting at a distance might not so easily understand the meaning.

His Lordship said, he knew perfectly well that if any officer was to command a garrison, and the enemy invested that garrison or post, and the officer was to make a sally, and, if successful, to pursue, that was not offensive war, because it was a defensive operation ; but still officers might have doubts upon other points of service ; in order, therefore, to remove those doubts, he moved, as an amendment, to leave out the word attempting, and insert the word directing.

General Conway said, he did not perfectly agree with the noble Lord. He had used the word attempting in order to conclude every circumstance and thing that might occur and precisely to prevent a possibility of an infringement of the orders of the House, by declaring any such infringement highly criminal. But he could not see any hardship upon military men that would result from the words of his motion. If a minister so far disobeyed the orders of that House, as not to send them out to officers in command, the minister, and not the officer, would be criminal in case orders were disobeyed, and offensive war should be hereafter pursued. Take the case the other way : If Ministers did their duty, and sent the orders out to officers with the necessary instructions to make those orders the rule of their conduct, and nevertheless officers should presume to prosecute offensive war, then the officers would be guilty, and not the Ministers. With regard to the noble Lord’s idea of offensive and defensive war, he was completely of the same opinion. Undoubtedly, making a sally, as the noble Lord had described, or quitting one post, and taking another, in a country where

General
Conway.

it was necessary to keep an army, were not offensive operations; when he talked of offensive war, he meant fighting our enemies in the field, with an obvious view to conquest,

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* was of opinion, that the original motion was extremely proper, as it would not be right to tie down Ministers to the manner in which they should act, and leave it in the breast of Generals to act as they pleased, and perhaps directly contrary to the sense of the resolution of that House.

Mr. Pulteney.

Mr. *Pulteney* thought the words of the original motion were too severe, particularly in the part pointed out by the noble Lord, as it would destroy the discipline of the army; and even a corporal would refuse to obey the command of his superior, saying, it was contrary to the vote of the House of Commons. It would be attended also with an inconvenience of an unconstitutional nature; it would teach the military to look up to that House for orders, which they ought to receive only from the executive power. But those were not the only inconveniences, which would attend the resolution as it then stood: it would spread an idea, that Parliament, by extending its orders to the army, was of opinion, that it could not enforce obedience without extending the line of responsibility; and that ministers were too great for punishment, when subalterns were to be rendered responsible.

Mr. William Pitt.

Mr. *William Pitt* hoped there never would be room for any one to entertain an idea that ministers were too big for punishment, and out of the reach of Parliament; that House had drawn the line, and he made no doubt but those who should transgress it, would find that Parliament did not want power to bring them to punishment, let their rank be what it might: it was not therefore because the House could not punish the ministers who should disobey its orders, that responsibility was extended to those who should receive commands from ministers, contrary to the sense of that House, and obey them: but solely that there should not exist a possibility of ministers first disobeying the orders of the House, and then shifting the blame on the shoulders of their officers.

He could by no means agree with the honourable gentleman, that the discipline of the army would be affected in the least degree, and certainly it was proper that some persons should be responsible for their conduct in the business; for Ministers who wish to carry on this destructive war, would probably not act directly contrary to the resolution of that House

House themselves, yet they might give their Generals such orders, that the whole end of Parliament might be defeated; certainly then those Generals, let them be who they would, ought to be responsible, as they must know they were acting directly contrary to the resolution of that House.

Lord *Howe* and General *Conway* were each up several times on this point. At length his Lordship declared, he meant not to insist upon his proposed amendment; it was therefore withdrawn, and the debate proceeded on the original motion.

Mr. *Fox* rose, he said, to speak but a few words on the motion, for as the noble Lord in the blue ribband had said that he should not oppose it, there was no occasion for him to enter into any detail of argument in defence of the proposition; but some things had dropt from the noble Lord, on which he must animadvert. But he must first beg leave to say that he was one of those who was completely and totally dissatisfied with the answer of the Crown to the address of that House. When he spoke in this manner, he would be undoubtedly understood to mean, that he was dissatisfied with the answer which his Majesty's Ministers has advised his Majesty to give. It was the answer of the Ministers, and, among others, of that Minister, who had, on that day, been heard to declare, that he disapproved of the resolution of that House on which the address was founded; they had put an answer into the mouth of his Majesty which he could not approve of, because it was not an answer sufficiently clear and specific; for what did it say? That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to put an end to the offensive war carried on in America, for the purpose of reducing the Americans to obedience by force? No. But that his Majesty would take such measures as shall appear to him (that is, as should appear to his Ministers) conducive to the restoration of harmony. Could this be satisfactory? Parliament had pointed out the specific means by which to accomplish the object; namely, by putting an immediate stop to offensive war; but his Majesty's Ministers, instead of declaring in their answer that they would guide themselves by this advice, make his Majesty declare that they will take such steps as appear to them conducive to the object. He was not in the House when the motion for an address of thanks was agreed to, as he understood, unanimously; if he had, notwithstanding what he had just said, he should have voted for it, for he was careful to distinguish between the obligation that was due

due to his Majesty personally for the grace of his answer (and he sincerely believed that his Majesty was, in his royal mind, most graciously disposed to restore the blessings of peace to his unhappy people) and those Ministers who wished to make the Crown follow a plan of conduct directly opposite to the advice of his faithful Commons, were not friends to their country, and should be deemed criminal. This answer of the Ministry, coupled with their language in that House, was perfectly intelligible; for here they declared, and particularly the Minister of the American department, the best way to conclude a peace with America was to make them feel the calamities of war. This expression the new Secretary of state had made use of but a few days before. His Majesty he sincerely believed, wished to conclude peace with America, as his faithful Commons had advised him; but his Ministers undoubtedly meant no such thing, for their language was different.

But the noble Lord had said, that he never would, nor should any man presume to act in contradiction to the voice of the majority of that House; nor dare to call it in question; nor dare to abuse it, in any shape. For his own part, he must claim to himself the right of declaring his opinion freely and fully of the conduct of Parliament in discharge of his own conscience, and of his duty. When majorities acted wrong in his opinion, he would, both within that House, and out of it, declare his disapprobation of their conduct: but the noble Lord pronounced it, as the indispensable duty of a Minister to hold the decision of the majorities of that House in the strictest reverence. Had he always done so? Did he not remember the vote of a majority of that House, declaring that the influence of the Crown ought to be diminished? What then was his duty upon that occasion? Surely to second the endeavours of that majority, to reduce the influence. Did he so? No. He there counteracted, opposed, and at last defeated and destroyed the desire of that House; nay, he advised the Crown in a shameful manner, to dissolve the Parliament before its regular period, lest they should, in another session, carry into execution the resolutions of a former. — Did he not, by his conduct, bring upon that House, the disgrace and ignominy of having declared what was their duty, and afterwards failed to perform it? If the noble Lord sought for credit in his declarations of respect for the decision of majorities, let him now come to the resolution of the 6th of April, 1780, and reduce the influence of the Crown, and then he would be
 I considered

considered as a fair man; but the noble Lord would other-ways incur the censure of saying things in argument which he by no means meant to abide by. His situation was truly embarrassing. He had said in debate the other evening, and he said it by way of menace, that if the voice of the House should be against him, that was undoubtedly by being against the principle and system of his administration, he should no longer continue in place: The House had been against him; the majority of the House was against him; and still the noble Lord kept his place: Such was his respect for majorities, and such the credit that ought to be given to his declarations in that House. But it was no way strange, that he should now affect to pay regard to the decision of majorities; he stood in a situation which, he would be bound to say, had not been preceded since the Revolution; he remained in place when the House had condemned the system. Being then to carry on measures contrary to his own opinion, what must be done? When he went into his Sovereign's presence, he must address him in language to the following effect: "I am come, Sire, to advise you to a measure, which is expressly contrary to my own opinion, and to all I ever told you; but, however, it is the opinion of a majority of the House of Commons." The noble Lord was to gather every thing from the opinion of that House, since he seemed resolved to carry on measures of which he disapproved, if this country should be so reduced, so poor in spirit, or so indifferent as to suffer a Minister to have the conduct of affairs in a moment so dangerous as the present, when he dared not to execute his own plans. The free, incorrupt voice of the majority of that House was, indeed, respectable. He did respect it; and respecting that, he must condemn and despise the majorities of another description, which that Minister had procured by means of corruption. When he saw a majority, composed of contractors, whom a majority of that House had previously declared to be ineligible to sit there, he could not respect that majority. The House having, by solemn resolutions, declared contractors, the Lords of trade, and certain other officers of the state, incapable of sitting in that House, he could not afterwards respect a majority made up of these men alone. He thanked God that the House of Commons had come to the resolutions of Friday last. Whatever were their present effects, they must, in the end, be decisive; for they had, by these resolutions, broken, destroyed and annihilated the principle

principle and basis of the present system, they had overcome corruption; and the system, thus deprived of its foundation, must crumble into pieces. It was impossible to believe that the ministry could be so daring and profligate as to go on after what had happened on Wednesday last; they could not have the presumption, surely, after the tidings that had come that day; they could not be impudent enough to go on. That day they had heard that the important island of Minorca was lost; that the garrison, consisting of 1500 men, had surrendered prisoners of war; and that there were circumstances in the loss of this island, which made it particularly criminal in Ministers; for, besides the loss of the garrison, he understood that there were several regiments now on their way to relieve the place. In the last war, the loss of this important fortress and island, drove a much greater Ministry than the present from their seats. The nation would not then suffer loss, disgrace, and calamity, without calling their rulers to a severe account. Would they now suffer loss after loss, disaster after disaster? Were they so habituated to defeat? Had Ministry made them so familiar with sorrow that they could now bear loss without a complaint? He hoped not. He had heard that day another report; he sincerely hoped it was not true; he had no other reason for believing it, but the probability, that the most important island remaining to us in the West-Indies, except Jamaica, he meant St. Kitt's, was taken. He desired Ministers to inform the House, if it was true that this calamity also had come upon us; and where they meant to stop; when they would confess that they had done enough. From his soul, he believed, that such was their accursed obstinacy, that even when they had lost nine-tenths of the King's dominions, they would not be satisfied till they had mangled and destroyed the last miserable tenth also—pride and obstinacy was so predominant in their natures. He could not help observing with pleasure, the triumph of men in every quarter, on the resolutions of the House on Wednesday last. The exultation, the triumph, the hope, painted and expressed in every countenance, was a test of the desire which they had for the object recommended in that House, and the consequences that it had produced on the funds, and on the credit of the nation, were also inconceivable. The people saw or heard of our triumphs without emotion. They heard of the victories obtained by his Majesty's Ministers without gladness. The stocks remained the same, the faces of men wore the same gloom; but on the instant that a victory was gained

gained over his Majesty's Ministers, whom they considered as the greatest enemies of their country, their joy was immoderate, the funds were immediately advanced, and the credit of the nation raised, because there was a prospect of the Ministry going out of place. All yet would be well in their conception if this should be brought about. When the noble Lord two years ago brought in a bill for conciliatory propositions with America, the funds were not affected; they hoped for no benefit from any thing that he should undertake; but when the Parliament declared it, they instantly proclaimed, now that the Minister is beaten the country may be saved. He professed that though he could not thank God for the many calamities which had overtaken the unhappy land, in consequence of the fatal system by which the King and people had been deluded, he still considered it as beneficial that the triumph of Wednesday last had not come sooner. It had, coming as it did, completely and effectually destroyed corruption; the reign of it was at an end. If the conquest had come sooner, before we had been so infligated against the baneful consequences of a system of corruption, perhaps there might have been contrived some paltry and insignificant coalitions which would have made the system more palatable. Now they were aroused, and leagued by a sense of common danger, to a plan of general and united action; though they might go on for a day, a week, a month, or a year, it was nothing to a man who viewed things on a great scale; the foundation was taken from it on Wednesday last, and it must fall down, and then an effectual remedy would be found to prevent its ever rising again. The honourable Gentleman concluded with asking Ministers if the report concerning St. Kitt's was true,

Mr. *Secretary Ellis* said, that in former Parliaments it was not customary for gentlemen to animadvert and challenge the decision of majorities; they were always held sacred, and ought to be so, for in fact, a majority was the sense of the whole House; every person was included who spoke either for or against a motion. With respect to the loss of Minorca he believed it to be true, but it did not immediately belong to his office to receive such intelligence, and with respect to St. Christopher's, he could only say it had been so rumoured, but he had not heard any thing officially about it.

The Speaker was just going to put the question, when Mr. *Rigby* stood up: he said, he rose not for the purpose of dividing the House, but merely of giving his negative to the motion.

tion then before the House, that it might not pass unanimously as the last had : and here he could not help taking notice, that it was a little singular, that so many gentlemen should disapprove the answer to the Address, and yet, that when a motion was made to return thanks for this very answer which so many condemned, not one dissentient voice was heard against it ; the honourable member who moved it, the noble Lord who seconded it, and the honourable member who had lately spoken, had all condemned the answer, and yet it was carried *nemine contradicente*. This was a proof, in his opinion, that the charge so often brought against ministers, might be better applied to opposition ; that they were divided among themselves. Some approved of the speech, others did not ; the great leader of opposition himself had declared against the answer ; but still it was carried unanimously, that the King should be thanked for it. Then came another motion, which to him appeared perfectly nugatory, because he could not conceive, that any minister would be hardy enough wilfully to disobey the orders of that House : but he imagined it was proposed to calm tender consciences ; and that it had been made to conceal dissensions : the vote of thanks, and the present motions were to balance one another ; and one set of men in opposition very likely had agreed to vote for the one, on condition that another description should vote for the second.

Much had been said about the majorities that had been against the noble Lord : how had he got rid of the resolutions of these majorities ? Why by other majorities. And how had these majorities been obtained on both sides ? By opinion. [A loud laugh] Gentlemen, he said, might laugh, but his assertion was true : it was the language of former days as well as of the present, that all who were in were corrupt ; and all who were out were factious : these opinions had produced various resolutions in that House : but it was by no means a phenomenon in politics that a minister should keep his place, after having been left in a minority ; and here he cited some instances in which even the honourable General who had made the motion had been left in minorities, and one in particular, when the Duke of Newcastle's brother, a man by no means famous for eloquence, had kept Charles Townshend in a minority for two months together : all sides of the House had been occasionally wrong : the act which repealed the Stamp Act contained a clause which
strongly

strongly declared the right of Parliament to bind America ; and the honourable member under the gallery, (Mr. Fox) had voted for the Boston port bill. With respect to the charge brought against the minister of the loss of Minorca, it was idle and unjust. Every thing was laid at his door, which convinced him that in the spirit of opposition, they blamed him indiscriminately both for what he did, and what he did not ; both for what was right and what was wrong. With respect to the true meaning of the resolution, he declared it was his opinion, that it would be difficult for ministers to issue their orders conformably to it ; for he had heard, from some officers of high rank, and who had served in America, that if they were there now, and that the resolution of the House should be sent to them, they really would be totally at a loss how to act under it. If a general forage should be ordered by our commander, and an action should ensue, would this be repugnant to the spirit of the resolution ? If Long-Island should be attacked, it would require field operations to defend it, for it was one hundred miles long ; York-Island was seventeen miles long ; and Staten-Island was of considerable size ; now as no one had ventured to say our troops ought to be withdrawn, so no one could say that the officer commanding our army, might or might not be censurable for operations which would require marching and countermarching, and other field operations. He believed the people were tired of the American war, and indeed he was perfectly tired of it. That the people were tired, he was confident, from a circumstance he had observed last week ; for being in the country, and hearing the bells ring, he directly concluded it was on account of the majority obtained over the minister ; but on enquiry was told, it was because there “ was a peace with America ; ” so little were the people acquainted with the nature of the business, that they thought an act of Parliament could establish a peace. He was himself a great lover of majorities, and should always own, that he thought the noble Lord in the blue ribband the best of all his Majesty’s ministers ; but if there was so little faith to be put in his word as to make the present question necessary, it would be better to move at once to remove him from his office. The honourable gentleman in the corner of his speech said, that he was tired of the American war ; though he was by no means tired of receiving cash ; but he could speak his honest opinion uninfluenced by his place.

Mr.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. *Fox* said, he felt himself particularly called on to answer why he voted for the Boston Port bill; it was on the minister's pledging himself, that if the tea that was thrown overboard was paid for, the idea of taxation should be dropped; and that it was the intention of the Americans to pay for it was clear, as there were at that time merchants in London who pledged themselves, nay offered to pay for it. With respect to the right honourable gentleman's wondering why Lord North was blamed for the loss of Minorca, was he not Prime Minister, was he not a Privy Councillor, was he not the chief person who had access to his Majesty, and who advised with him in his cabinet? Certainly then he ought to be responsible; and the noble Lord himself had boldly and honourably declared it a few nights since, for he said, when debating about Lord Sandwich, if his conduct is blameable, I am to blame as well as he, as one of the advisers of those measures. But the endeavour of the right honourable gentleman to screen the noble Lord from blame about Minorca, was too pitiful a quibble, for even that quibbling minister himself to make.

Mr. W.
Pitt,

Mr. *William Pitt* was surprised to hear the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Rigby) declare he was not tired of receiving cash, if he was not, he would be bold to say the nation was tired of paying cash, and that they paid immense sums was perfectly known to that honourable gentleman who profited more by the war than any four men in that House.

Mr. Rigby.

Mr. *Rigby* got up to declare, that however lucrative his office might be, it had, previous to his taking it, been held by the fathers of the two last gentlemen, and he made no doubt but those gentlemen had some eye to holding it whenever he might be obliged to give it up; undoubtedly he was not tired of receiving money, but yet he was not to be told, that because men received the emoluments of office, they were the authors of our ruin.

Col. Barré.

Colonel *Barré* took notice of the expression of Mr. Rigby, that if the country was tired of paying, he was not tired of receiving. It was no wonder. From the paper on the table it appeared, that for six years of the greatest distress and calamity that had ever occurred, he had had no less than 600,000*l.* of the national money in his hands; and that just in the moment when that House had complained of the enormity of such profits, he had drawn for more, and had kept in his hand a balance of near 900,000*l.* The honourable gentleman made some severe comments on this circumstance, and gave

gave it as a reason for the honourable gentleman's conduct. He adverted to what had been, and was frequently thrown out against the opposition, that they were a rope of sand. To this he should say, that it was to their honour, holding different opinions as they did, that on this grand question they were united, since it must be by principle. They were united by principle against the present system, and they were united by the strongest tie that could bind men—by the just apprehension that, under this system, their country must be ruined.

A good deal of altercation taking place here, not directly to the question, on the language of Mr. Rigby, and the answers and retorts, the Speaker begged them to return to the question.

Mr. *Solicitor General* called back the attention of the House to the objection of Lord Howe, and said he thought it very forcible, as it would most certainly be exceedingly unfit that officers should be brought into embarrassments that must be detrimental to the service; for if they must not dare to act in obedience to their commands, when they might, by so acting, offend against a resolution of the House of Commons which they did not clearly understand, the service must suffer. He said the word direct, instead of attempt, would do better; or the word command.

General *Conway* shewed that both these words would go more particularly to affect officers than the word attempt; for to direct, and to command active operations, was peculiarly the duty and business of officers; but he had already, as he thought, sufficiently explained his meaning.

The *Secretary at War* said, that he was also of opinion that officers would be very much embarrassed to discover a proper line of conduct in their obedience to the orders which they might receive from ministers, and in the resolutions of that House. He would therefore move an amendment, he said, by leaving out the word attempt, and inserting the word direct in its stead. The Speaker informed him that word had been already moved in amendment of the motion, and could not be again moved. After some farther conversation about that point, the motion was put in its original form, and agreed to without a division.

March 5.

General *Smith* stated, that in the course of the proceedings of the committee, on the business of the Bengal judicature,
Gen. Smith
Mr.

Mr. R. Barwell, a member of that House, who had been directed to appear before that committee to give evidence, had refused to answer some questions, which had been put to him by the committee : the minute taken at the time, was read ; and it appeared, that Mr. Barwell had not refused to answer, from any wish to conceal truth, or suppress evidence, but merely from motives of delicacy, which urged him not to speak on the subject of a transaction in India, (the resistance made by the Supreme-council against the orders of the judges) in which he himself had had so great a share. It appeared also, that Mr. Barwell had insisted on having a right to a copy of the minutes of such questions and answers as had passed between him and the committee ; and also that as a member of the House he had laid claim to a right to be present at the debates of the committee relative to his refusal to answer some of their questions : the General then observed to the House, that as truth was the great object of the committee's investigation, he trusted gentlemen would agree with him in the opinion that it was highly proper that the House should interpose its authority, and order that Mr. Barwell should answer the questions put to him in the committee ; and such others as should be hereafter put to him in the course of their enquiry ; also that no member should be present at their debates, except those who were members of the committee ; and lastly, that the committee should not be bound to give minutes of their proceedings to any one, before they should finally make their report to Parliament : on these heads he made three separate motions, which were agreed to without opposition.

Mr. Bar-
well.

Mr. *Barwell* said that he had no manner of objection to them ; when the House commanded, it was his duty to obey ; and the only difficulty he felt before, when he resisted the wishes of the committee, and declined giving answers to certain questions put by them, arose from a delicacy to interfere in that place, between Mr. Francis, who had lodged complaints against the Governor of Bengal, in a transaction, in which he had taken an active part in India, in support of the Governor.

Sir Thomas
Rumbold.

Sir *Thomas Rumbold* had a complaint to make of a very different kind from that of the last speaker, who complained that he had been examined on points to which he thought it would be indelicate in him to speak, for his part, the complaint he had to make was, that he had not been examined at all by the Secret committee. The reports of that committee, already

already before the House, were very voluminous, but there remained still others to come in; so that it would be absolutely impossible for any man to be able, in the short space between this and Monday next to read the reports, much less to draw up a defence against such charges as might be deduced from the reports: and yet on Monday next propositions or resolutions were to be submitted to the House, in which his character, fortune, and every thing dear to him, might be involved.

The *Lord Advocate* said he believed he should not be able to proceed so soon as Monday; but whenever he should offer any resolution to the House, which might point at the honourable member, or at any other gentleman, it would be but fair to allow him, or any other gentleman, or whoever else might be affected by such a resolution, ten days, or a fortnight, to prepare for a defence, before the House should pronounce definitively on the subject. The Lord Advocate.

Sir P. J. *Clerke* brought up, for the fifth time, his annual bill for the exclusion of contractors from seats in Parliament: it was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on a future day. Sir P. J. Clerke.

Lord *Mahon* observed, that this excellent bill, which had twice passed the House of Commons, had been as often rejected by the Lords: he rose to inform the House, that if it should be rejected there a third time, he would point out a remedy; and if no one else should move it, he would undertake to do it himself; and that remedy was a resolution of the House itself, that no contractor should have a seat in it. Lord Mahon.

Mr. *Whitbread* moved, with the approbation of Lord North, who had advised the measure, that a committee be appointed to enquire into the contracts made by the Commissioners of the Navy and Victualling offices for supplying his Majesty's fleet with corn, butter, cheese, biscuit, porter, wine, and other spirits. The motion passed without opposition. Mr. Whitbread.

The order of the day, for going into a previous committee, to consider of the Attorney General's proposition for bringing in a bill to enable his Majesty to make peace or a truce with America, was called for, and read. The Speaker left the chair, and Mr. Ord having taken the chair of the committee,

The *Attorney General* rose to make his proposition. Peace with America, he said, was the great object of his intended bill; and to such a bill he trusted no opposition whatever could be made from any quarter of the House. Peace was the The Attorney General.

the general wish of that House, and of the nation at large; and he hoped that if unanimity ever marked the progress through Parliament of any bill, the bill which he should have the honour to propose, would be unanimously supported. This bill was calculated to remove certain bars and impediments which stood in the way of peace. By an act commonly called the Prohibitory-act, all commerce whatever was cut off between the Colonies and Great Britain, until the former should be declared to be in the King's peace, that is to say, completely and fully restored to their allegiance to, and dependence on this country; a period which he feared was at so remote a distance, that to wait for it before the prohibitory law should be repealed, would be absurd and ridiculous. The only way now left, in his opinion, to restore the connection between the two countries, would be to open our ports to them, without which no truce or peace could be advantageous to this country. But the Prohibitory-act was not the only one that ought to be repealed: in the year 1774, the Congress had complained of certain other acts, to which his intended bill should have a reference; and in general to all acts relative to commerce with America, from the 12th of Charles II. down to the date of the present troubles. By the 12th of Charles II. every thing that was destined for the consumption or use of English America, could by law, be shipped only in England, and the whole produce of the Colonies could not be carried elsewhere than to England: this act of course must be repealed, as well as many others which it would be tedious to enumerate. These were the outlines of his bill, and having said this much, he moved, 'That the chairman be directed to move in the House, for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his Majesty to conclude a truce or peace with the revolted colonies in America.'

Having made this motion, he added these few observations:—that it appeared to him necessary, in the present circumstances of affairs, to bring in this bill as soon as possible, not solely for the purpose of repealing the acts alluded to, which might be repealed in a future period, when the measure should be agreed upon after a negotiation, but to remove the cause of certain jealousies, which he understood existed, relative to the sincerity of Parliament, in its wishes for peace.—When the Commissioners were sent out to America, they were empowered to suspend those acts, which it was now his intention to repeal: but then as all their proceedings were to be subject to the revision and approbation of Parliament, it was insinuated in America, that Parliament was not sincere
in

in its propofals, as it might refcind or annul every thing done by the Commiffioners. The fame doubt might ftill exift; and the apprehenfion of fuch a thing would probably deter the Americans from entering into a feparate treaty with us, left they fhould be abandoned by their allies, and afterwards be deceived by Parliament. To remove the fhadow of fuch a doubt, he thought it beft for Parliament to begin by repealing the acts in queftion; and that would certainly be the beft teft of their fincerity.

Mr. Fox rofe next: he affured the Committee that nothing but the perfonal refpect he bore the learned gentleman had prevented him from treating the propofition before the Committee juft as it deferved to be treated; and that was to burft out a laughing when he had heard it, and then walk out of the Houfe; for nothing could be fo ridiculous and farcical as to hear fuch a propofition from that fide of the Houfe, and from a member who, on Wednesday laft, had combated as far as he was able, a refolution, the obvious tendency of which was that very peace with which the learned gentleman feemed at prefent enamoured: the fupporters of the prefent adminiftration entertained at prefent a wifh for peace; but they had been beaten into it; and nothing but flagellation and correction could drive them to think of peace:—pity it was that fo much correction fhould be neceffary!—The learned gentleman faid, and faid truly, that opening our ports to the Americans, and facilitating mutual intercourfe with them, was the moft effectual way to incline them to return to that preference which they ufed to give to our market over any other. Pity it was, that the learned gentleman and the other friends had not difcovered this four years fooner; then we fhould not have to lament the lofs of America and our Weft-India iflands; we fhould not have to regret the lofs of Minorca, or be now reduced to this melancholy fituation, that of all our foreign poffeffions, thofe in India excepted, we could fcarcely fay that we had now remaining more than Jamaica and Gibraltar; and God only knew how long thefe might remain in our hands! When he rofe, it was not with an intention either to fupport or oppofe the motion of the learned gentleman, from which however he was free to fay, that he expected very little good; but before he fhould confent to furnifh minifters with the means of making peace, he would afk how far it was probable that they were inclined to make peace? Gentlemen knew well that Spain had offered her mediation, before the declared war—

Would ministers tell upon what grounds it was rejected ? In the year 1741 one of the most powerful princes of Europe had offered a mediation—Upon what principle was it rejected ? Those who do not listen to mediations, can scarcely be called friends to peace : but if measures destructive of peace had been pursued, would any one say that the present ministers were inclined to it, or proper agents to negotiate it ? Was it true that our ministers had flatly refused to suffer any agents from America to meet their plenipotentiaries, under the mediation of the prince alluded to ? If it was true, then it was to be concluded, that as they have driven the Americans to treat through France, they would consequently have taken the most effectual means to rivet the alliance between them ; and of course nothing could be more injurious to the interests of this country. The learned gentleman therefore, in looking for the impediments and bars to peace, which he was desirous to remove, ought to look to his right and to his left, and in the persons of his friends, the ministers, he would find the greatest impediments to peace. Before he should sit down, he had a proposal to make to the ministers ; he would inform them for certain, that there were persons now in Europe, who were fully empowered to treat for a peace between Great Britain and America ; and though he believed they would not treat with the present ministers, still he would put them in a way of making peace ; nay more, if they did not like to interfere in it themselves, he would undertake to negotiate it for them himself. He saw a learned gentleman smile at his proposal ; he was not surpris'd at it ; nor could he have brought himself to make it, if the good of his country did not urge him to it ; and he might propose it, without being guilty of more inconsistency than the noble Lord, who condemned the resolution of Wednesday last, for peace with America, though at present he was willing to act every day contrary to his inclination ; and to be constantly advising the Sovereign to pursue those measures, which he so much condemned. Our affairs were so circumstanced that ministers must lose their places, or the country must be undone : he would therefore let them enjoy those emoluments, which they held so dear, provided he could save his country : for this end he was willing to serve them in the business of peace, in any capacity, even as an under commis, or messenger. But in so doing, he desired it might be understood that he did not mean to have any connection with them : from the mo-

ment

ment when he should make any terms with one of them, he would rest satisfied to be called the most infamous of mankind : he could not for an instant think of a coalition with men, who in every public and private transaction, as ministers, had shewn themselves void of every principle of honour and honesty : in the hands of such men he would not trust his honour, even for a minute.

Lord North observed, that as the honourable member had not said one word in opposition to the motion, or to the principle of the bill, to which the motion referred, he believed, that in decency to the mover, he ought not to enter into any discussion about it, but let it go immediately to a vote. However, since he had risen, he would take some notice of the extraneous matter, which had fallen from the honourable member. He had been pleased to say, that ministers were not inclined to peace : this charge he would meet with a flat denial, at least in as much as it related to himself. He had always been a friend to peace ; and there were men in that House who knew it. To a bill of the nature of that which was now in question, he certainly had not always been a friend ; because he had always thought inferences might be drawn from it, by no means conducive to peace : but he no longer feared, that the bill would give room for those inferences, because he knew they must be already drawn from another measure already adopted by that House—the resolution of Wednesday last.—To the policy of that resolution he did not, and could not subscribe, but as Parliament had thought proper to pass it, and as ministers were bound to obey the orders of Parliament, so he should make that resolution the standard of his future conduct. The honourable gentleman had said, that there were persons in Europe authorized to treat of peace between Great-Britain and America ; if so, the propriety of passing the bill now in question, must appear the more striking to gentlemen ; because it must facilitate that peace, for which all parties seemed to wish so ardently. But then the present ministers could not be fit to negotiate for peace, because a proffered mediation had not been followed with good effects. For his part, when he opened the last year's loan, he had said that there was “ a tendency towards a peace ; ” a general mediation had been offered ; at that time nothing specific had been proposed ; and therefore he had made use of the expression, “ a tendency towards a peace,” and a stronger one he ought not to have used, without going farther than the state of the negotia-
tion

tion would admit. The honourable Member was kind enough to offer his services in a negotiation; but he would not take any part with the present Administration; and the reason that he assigned was, that he could not trust his honour in their hands for a moment that were without any principle of honour or honesty: these were good and substantial reasons, and better certainly could not be assigned; and the same should serve him against the honourable Member. He would never employ a person who publicly declared that he could not have confidence in him. He was intitled to say just as much of that honourable gentleman; and therefore he would not trust his honour in the hands of that gentleman; and thinking of him as he did, he was determined not to employ him as his negotiator.

The honourable member seemed to be in a great hurry to get the places of the ministers; at least he was in a great hurry to drive them from their places, though he was not able to learn that among those who wished to succeed, there was any settled system or agreement, and therefore it would be for the good of the public that he himself should stay in, and continue in office to prevent, as he had hitherto done, confusion in the state, and the introduction of principles which might not be constitutional; with this view he was determined not to go out of office, until he should receive his royal master's commands so to do, or till the sense of that House, expressed in the clearest manner, should point out to him the propriety of withdrawing.—As to the emoluments of office, God knew that though they were indeed much greater than his abilities deserved, still were they forty times greater than they were, they could not compensate for the anxiety and vexations incident to situations, aggravated by the uncandid treatment he frequently met in that House: it was not love of power or greatness that determined him to hold his place, so long as his Sovereign and Parliament would permit; he spoke in the presence of men who knew how little he was attached to either; but there was a certain pride of office which prevented him from resigning; and he would so far listen to that pride, that he would not resign until he could do it with gratitude to his gracious Sovereign and to the public, from whom he had found so great support during the course of his administration.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox assured the noble Lord, when he said he was dishonourable in private transactions, he meant in such as were of half public, half a private nature; and not at all in his private

private character, or in such part of his public character as related to money matters, in which he was ready to admit that he stood clear from every imputation. He wished however, in every other respect, it should be believed that he was understood to have spoken no harsher than he meant. He ridiculed the idea of the noble Lord's remaining in office to prevent confusion; and was surprised at the difference which he found in the noble Lord's language on this day and Wednesday last, relative to resignation.

Lord North jocosely said, that he undoubtedly had prevented much confusion; and if he had not prevented more, it was because there were others who had greater abilities to create confusion than he had to prevent it. He maintained that his language both on this day, and Wednesday, was the same, respecting resignation: he said on Wednesday, and he now repeated it, that if any one branch of the legislature should so far withdraw confidence from the executive power, as to interfere on all occasions, and give particular directions how the executive power should proceed, it would be better, and more constitutional, entirely to remove the ministers, than to leave power in their hands, after confidence had been withdrawn: and he added on Wednesday, and repeated it now, that if he found himself so little the object of the confidence of Parliament, as that every day he should find that Parliament was under the necessity of directing him how to act, he would undoubtedly, in that case, retire from office. But as long as Parliament should not think it necessary to remove him either by a vote, or by totally withdrawing their confidence,—the honourable member would excuse him, if he should resolve still to retain his situation.

Mr. T. Townshend, Captain John Luttrell, and some others spoke; and the committee at last agreed to the motion without a division, and adjourned.

March 6.

Sir Joseph Mawbey claimed the attention of the House to what he called an indecent behaviour in ministers, who always took care to have inserted in the Gazette every address from any little paltry borough that flattered or cringed to them, but the important address to his Majesty, to put an end to the cursed American war, and his Majesty's answer to it, had not yet made its appearance; he therefore desired to know the cause of such neglect.

This

This brought on a conversation between Lord North, Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Townshend, and others, which was put an end to, on

Lord Surrey. Lord *Surrey*'s rising to declare, that however indecent ministers had behaved on former occasions, and with respect to the late address, they had never behaved in so shameful a manner as on Friday last; for when the House of Commons went up with the address, who should they see close to his Majesty's right hand but that declared and most determined foe to America, General Arnold. Surely if ministers had the least particle of shame left in them, they would have advised his Majesty otherwise, and not so wantonly have insulted the people.

Lord North. Lord *North* desired the House would permit him to postpone going into the taxes, as he was not ready, owing, in a great measure, to the hurry of business, and the late hours which the House had for some time past sat. He was exceedingly sorry he should so far trespass on their indulgence, but he trusted their candour would excuse him, as he would very shortly name a day, and stand to it.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* said, he did not rise to oppose allowing the noble Lord the indulgence he requested, but he thought it rather extraordinary, that on the 6th of March the noble Lord should come forward and say he was not prepared with his taxes to pay the interest for a loan which had been voted above a week. If the noble Lord, who by the nature of his office could procure every information possible, was not prepared on the taxes he meant to produce, was it reasonable or just to suppose that persons, totally unacquainted with them, could, with a degree of justice to their constituents, vote those taxes at first sight? If the taxes the noble Lord meant to produce were grounded on the former ones, such as doubling the excise laws, or any thing of the kind, the House would be prepared to debate on the subject; but if the taxes to be proposed were, as the noble Lord mentioned on opening the budget, numerous and novelle, it was nothing but fair that he should give the House some information what they were. He had himself just looked over the blessed fruits of the noble Lord's administration, and there he found that we were loaded with ten new taxes, viz. beer, wine, soap, leather, houses, coaches, post-chaises, post-horses, stamps, and servants, (a friend here hinted to him that he had forgot sugar) upon which he said he had totally forgot sugar; but to be sure, now we had lost St. Kitt's, and in all

human probability should soon lose Barbadoes and Jamaica, it was not extraordinary he should have forgot that valuable article, as we shall soon have no sugar to tax.

He did not wonder the noble Lord was at a loss about new taxes, for what fresh burthen could he add to this unhappy nation? We were already taxed, if we rode, or if we walked; if we staid at home, or if we went abroad; if we were masters or if we were servants; if we drank wine, or if we drank beer; and, in short, we were taxed every way possible. Thus, after being taxed in the manner mentioned, he had endeavoured to see how the account could stand, when viewed in a mercantile form, and the first thing was, debtor by loss, one hundred million of money; he next looked for a creditor side, and what rendered it most curious was, that there it stood, creditor by loss; we had purchased one hundred million worth of national disasters, and the whole, when in one view, appeared as follows:

Debtor by loss.

ONE HUNDRED
MILLION OF
MONEY.

Creditor by loss.

One hundred thousand men,
and the loss of
Massachusetts,
Pennsylvania,
New-York,
Virginia,
Maryland,
South Carolina,
North Carolina,
Florida,
Georgia,
Delaware,
New Jersey
Rhode Island,
Connecticut,
New Hampshire,
St. Vincent,
Grenada,
Dominica,
Tobago,
St. Christopher's,
Senegal,
Pensacola and Minorca,
Which, at a moderate computation, produced to this country annually,
Four million five hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

Now, as the account stood in such an advantageous manner, it was impossible but the public must see the cause of the noble Lord's gratitude, which he talked of so much on Tuesday last; he undoubtedly owed much gratitude to his Sovereign, for keeping him for losing so many valuable dominions, and he owed much gratitude to the public; but he desired the noble Lord would inform the House, whether he meant to raise, by his new taxes, the sum of 800,000*l.* merely to pay the interest of the new loan, or whether he meant to raise 1,300,000*l.* to pay both the interest and deficiencies of his other taxes. This was a thing the noble Lord ought to do, as it was very material, and what he owed in gratitude to that House.

The noble Lord had told them he would continue in his office out of gratitude to the people. "Gratitude, the noble Lord's gratitude!" Oh, Sir, said Mr. Burke, addressing himself to the Speaker, the noble Lord's gratitude is like that of another fallen angel like himself, described by the poet;

The debt immense of endless gratitude
So burthensome, still paying, still to owe.

So with the noble Lord, his debt immense of gratitude was endless, and could never be discharged, and therefore he had presumed to fly in their face and to insult them with such language as ought to be reprobated by every man in the House, who had a sense of the decency due to Parliament, from the noble Lord, and how ill it became him of all men, to say that he would continue in his office out of gratitude.

Lord North

Lord North said, the taxes he meant to produce were numerous, and many of them novelle in their kind; therefore he had been obliged to postpone them, as, from their novelty, it was impossible, without time, to make any thing like a true estimate. New taxes were frequently uncertain in their produce, and undoubtedly there might be frequently at the end of the year great deficiencies, some of the taxes not answering as was expected.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox desired the noble Lord would answer that part of Mr. Burke's speech which requested to know what end the taxes were to be raised for, and when the noble Lord meant to move these taxes.

Lord North

Lord North said, he would, on Monday next, without fail, bring in the taxes; and he only meant to raise 800,000*l.* to pay the interest of the new loan.

Mr. Fox, on this, attacked his Lordship with uncommon force;—the noble Lord had at last confessed himself totally exhausted

exhausted in point of finance, and no longer able to raise taxes to pay the interest of a debt, occasioned by his cursed American war; the people were burthened, and so loaded with innumerable oppressions, that even the noble Lord was at a loss how to distress them any farther. His constituents, he said, felt severely the fatal effects of that noble Lord's administration; and indeed the whole nation felt them too severely; for he had, by a determined obstinacy to keep in place, ruined above nine-tenths of the British dominions, and seemed equally determined to ruin what little remained. The noble Lord had lately talked of his gratitude, and that he only staid in office to see his country righted. In the name of God, what good could the country expect from a man whose whole administration had been one continued scene of blunders. From the noble Lord's confession to-day, he had proved himself what he always took him for, viz. an ignorant and bad financier, a man totally unacquainted with the resources of the country, and certainly unfit, and unworthy of the office he held. He had said, his taxes were novel, and uncertain in their produce, it was unnecessary for him to have mentioned the latter, for the deficiencies of the noble Lord's former taxes, which were annually added, and of consequence became an additional load upon our shoulders, plainly proved it. The taxes the noble Lord meant to produce on Monday next, were supposed to raise 793,000*l.* the interest of the new loan; but whether they would produce 3 or 400,000*l.* the noble Lord was totally ignorant. Thus he went on year after year, making taxes which were inefficient for the purpose intended, and consequently must add fresh burthens; therefore it became the duty of the noble Lord to mention to the House when he intended to propose taxes to pay off the former deficiencies, which otherwise would remain a dead weight to whoever should succeed the noble Lord in office. The way for a minister to establish his credit with the public, would be to have his taxes ready, and those substantial, at the time he came and asked for a supply; not to borrow so large, so enormous a sum, and then be at a loss how to pay even the interest. It was conduct such as he never remembered, and what must stamp indelible disgrace on the noble Lord, who, in a former debate, a few evenings since, said, "You should not speak out and declare your readiness for peace, it will prevent your getting such good terms as you have a right to demand." Could any thing speak out plainer to our ene-

mies than the noble Lord had done himself this day? Had he not declared to all the world, that this nation was incapable of any longer carrying on a war, by saying he was unable to raise more taxes?

The greatest piece of delusion the noble Lord had been guilty of, was in keeping the nation in a profound darkness with respect to the state of their affairs. He deluded them by a set of taxes which they were led to believe were sufficient for the purposes intended; therefore the public suffered him to go on, not knowing their situation; if they did, long before this would they have cried out against him, and awakened from that state of lethargy which had been so disgraceful to them, and so ruinous to their country. He would not trouble the House any longer, but conclude with declaring a firm belief that the last token of the noble Lord's gratitude, would be the losing of Barbadoes and Jamaica, after which, there being nothing more worth giving up, he supposed his Lordship would quit his office.

Sir Joseph
Mawbey.

Sir *Joseph Mawbey* said, as the noble Lord had deferred his taxes until Monday next, and the call of the House stood for to-morrow, it would be exceedingly proper that the call be put off until a proper day, that gentlemen might not leave town at a time when such material business was likely to come on; he should therefore move, That the order for the call to-morrow be discharged, which was done without a division. He then moved, "That the House be called over on Thursday se'nnight;" upon which

Mr. Rolle.

Mr. *Rolle* got up, and proposed an amendment, by inserting the words, "three months" instead of "se'nnight," which was seconded by Mr. C. Turner.

The Speaker.

The *Speaker* said, the first question for the call of the House had been withdrawn, on a full assurance that no opposition would take place on the worthy Baronet's second motion

Mr. C.
Turner.

Mr. *C. Turner* declared, his reason for opposing it was, because he thought the call of the House a mere farce, a nonsensical thing, and quite unnecessary. If members would not attend without being compelled, they were unworthy of being members of that House, and ought not to have a seat. If the present times would not make them attend, no call of the House could be of service. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Rigby) had frequently called opposition a rope of sand, but had been answered the other evening, that

such

such a rope as it was, they could, when occasion required it, hold together by the firmest of all ties, principle. The rope of sand had done a glorious work lately; but it was not one or two good acts that were sufficient to make him esteem a House which he had so long detested; they must go on, and the people must join them; for this was the time for the people to join Parliament; if they did not, they deserved to be slaves as long as they lived.

Parliament must give him greater proofs of their honesty than they had done, before he would believe them, or put any faith in their works. He loved the Hanoverian succession, he was fond of a Hanover King, while he continued to act for the good of his people, and he would in the greatest distress prove his love, by putting his hand in his pocket and helping to support him; but if the King acted against his people, and endeavoured to gain a corrupt controul over his Parliament, he would be the first to join the French, or any other power, against such a King; for he wanted none of the luxuries of the present age, he could live upon one-third of his estate, and would, sooner than submit to the present set of ministers, retire to Switzerland, or some other remote corner of the earth, to spend the remainder of his days. The present ministers stiled opposition a rope of sand; he called the ministry in return a rope of onions, for they stunk in the nose of all England, and would, he hoped, either rot all together, or speedily drop off one by one.

The *Speaker* then put the question, that the word, "se'n- The *Speaker* night" stand a part of the motion, upon which the House divided,

Ayes	—	—	—	106
Noes	—	—	—	90

so the House is to be called over on Thursday next.

The order of the day was then called, for reading, a second time, the bill to prevent vexatious removals of the poor, which occasioned a long conversation between Sir George Yonge, Lord Mahon, Mr. Poney, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Robinson, Sir P. J. Clerke, Sir Richard Sutton, &c. but was at length carried without a division.

The *Lord Hinchinbrook* reported to the House that their address of Monday last, to return the thanks of the House to his Majesty, &c. had been presented to his Majesty, and that he was pleased to receive the same very graciously. Lord Hinchbrook.

The *Lord Advocate of Scotland*, from the committee of Lord Advocate. secrecy, appointed to enquire into the causes of the war, that

that now subsists in the Carnatic, &c. made another report of their proceedings, which was ordered to be printed.

March 7.

Sir Grey
Cooper.

Sir Grey Cooper informed the House, that the manufacturers of snuff had petitioned against the unfair practice which at present prevailed in the importation of foreign snuffs.

All foreign snuffs, says he, as the law now stands, pay a duty of fifteen-pence on every pound, value five shillings, except French snuff, which ought to pay at the rate of 75 per cent. ad valorem; but the smugglers, to evade the just duty, import French snuff under the article of Flemish, and sanctify such a proceeding with a Custom-house oath, by which means every pound is valued at no more than four-pence, and consequently pays only three-pence per pound duty, instead of paying fifteen-pence: this illicit method hurts the fair trader very materially in that article; therefore, to prevent such practices in future, he wished that a law might be established for the equalizing the duty, and to make every pound of foreign snuff imported, whether Flemish or French, pay a duty of fifteen-pence per pound, which he trusted would put an end to the present grievance.

Sir George
Yonge.

Sir George Yonge said, he thought some degree of preference ought to be paid to our good ally, the Emperor, and the snuff imported from his dominions ought not to be charged with so high a duty as that from France. He likewise thought, as we had lost our growth of tobacco, we ought to consider some act to encrease the growth of that article in England.

Sir Grey
Cooper.

Sir G. Cooper said, as the duty meant to be laid, was no more than usually had been on Flemish snuff, he could not suppose the Emperor would feel himself affronted; nor would he wish to connive at French snuff being imported under the head of Flemish.

Lord Surrey.

Lord Surrey informed the House, that in the reign of Charles the second, an act was made to prohibit the growth of tobacco in England, since that time a law had been made, allowing Ireland to plant tobacco; but the right did not extend to Scotland, yet the people at Kells grew great quantities, and had never been molested, upon which some persons near Leeds in Yorkshire attempted the same, but had been prosecuted for so doing. He could not suppose it was meant to suffer Scotland to enjoy privileges which were denied

denied to Englishmen, he therefore thought the laws prohibiting the growth in England ought to be repealed.

The Speaker informed the House that now was not a proper time to debate on that business, as the motion intend- ed was a matter of revenue.

Sir G. Cooper then moved, that a committee be appointed on Tuesday next, to consider of the duties now paid on the portation of foreign snuff.

Sir Grey
Cooper.

March 8.

Motion, by Lord John Cavendish, of censure on his Majesty's Ministers.

WHEN the private business of the day was finished, Lord John Cavendish addressed the Speaker. The business he said, to which he took the liberty to call the attention of the House, was of the most serious nature, and of the last importance to the state. — The great and splendid empire of Britain was nearly overturned; calamity, disgrace, and disaster were pouring upon us from every quarter; and the measure of our misfortunes was likely to be soon completed by the loss of all our dominions in America and the West-Indies: if it was yet possible to prevent any part of such disaster from being completed, it was only by investigating the cause of our calamities; for until that should be ascertained, it would be impossible to find out, or apply a remedy to the evil. In endeavouring to explore that cause, and ascertain the most effectual means to remove it, he assured the House he was not under the influence of any other passion than that of love for his country: from the present ministry either collectively or individually, he had never received a personal incivility; and therefore the gratification of resentment could not be ascribed to him as a motive for the measures he was going to propose. He never had asked or received a favour from any former administration that he had supported; and he was determined, let who would be ministers, never to ask a favour at their hands; therefore he hoped the House would give him credit, when he assured them that in any change of ministers he entertained not the least idea of any personal interest to himself; if he could serve his country, the great object of his wishes would be completely gratified.

Lord John
Cavendish.

He intended to propose to the House a string of resolutions, so clearly founded in fact, that he did not know that any

any one could venture to controvert them. When he looked round for the causes of our calamities, the first thing that struck him was the profusion with which the public supplies had been voted. The sums already voted for the present disastrous and disgraceful war, under the three heads of navy, army, and ordnance, amounted to the immense total of 100,000,000*l.* to this sum he might add the difference between the navy debt at the end of the year 1774, and that of the present year; which, with a few items, still to be voted for the service of the current year, would swell the total to 103,000,000*l.* The taxes which the war had made it necessary to impose already exceeded 3,000,000*l.* annually. In the last glorious war we had been led from victory to victory, from conquest to conquest, and the taxes laid no during the war, amounted to no more than 2,500,000*l.* What a difference in the sums! What a difference in the consequences of the expenditure of both! at the end of the last war, the whole world was at our feet; and there was not in the world a navy but our own. In this disgraceful war, we have already spent infinitely more money; and purchased nothing but losses and disgrace: America was gone, Minorca was no more, and our dominion in the West-Indies nearly annihilated; while our navy was every where inferior to that of our numerous and combined enemies.

Could the nation, if woeful experience had not demonstrated it, have imagined or suspected, from the sums voted for the navy, that we should be every where inferior to the enemy, on an element where we used to ride triumphant, and where we had been fondly taught to think that we should still continue to triumph? No man could have thought such a thing, if he had read the list of sums voted by Parliament, for the use of the navy. During the peace, the naval establishment had been kept up so high, that it doubled any former peace establishment in this kingdom; the reason assigned, was, that it had become necessary always to have a respectable naval force in readiness, for sudden emergencies, and to keep in awe the neighbouring maritime powers. But had that object been accomplished? Had the neighbouring powers been kept in awe? The very reverse; for they were suffered to raise a most formidable marine, whilst our own, notwithstanding the immense sums voted for it, seemingly decreased in proportion as that of our enemies encreased. If this was an event, which from the nature of things might have naturally been expected, why had ministers shewn so little foresight

sight as to provoke the different wars in which we were actually engaged? The American war, the source and origin of all the others, might surely have been avoided; but since ministers had rashly and unwisely run into it, why had they not taken the wise precautions of securing friends on the continent, in order to prevent a war with France and the rest of the House of Bourbon? This was an unpardonable neglect, which ministers could not attempt to palliate, but by a defence, which, of itself would be sufficient to prove, that they were unfit to govern a state, namely, by proving, that they wanted foresight. He feared they wanted something else; he feared they wanted their senses; for upon no other ground could he account for the war into which they had hurried us with Holland. The Dutch were our oldest friends and allies; they had been allied to us for more than a century; they were bound to us by a thousand ties of interest and of principle; but these ties were dissolved; and these our old friends and allies were pronounced to be enemies. This was a fatal declaration; and though some gentlemen might think, that, as yet we had not suffered any thing from the Dutch war; yet, let them look into the ordinance estimates for the present year, and they would find there some monuments of our disgrace; and must soon be convinced that we have already felt the Dutch war extremely burdensome; for the better defence of our coast, a chain of fortifications had been erected along the coast to the north of Scotland, to protect it from the Dutch; this measure was at once expensive and disgraceful: it evinced the weakness of our fleet, the decrease of our marine, and the apprehensions of the nation. In the last war no such fortifications had been erected; they were not necessary; our navy then was equal both to the defence of our own coast, and the annoyance of that of our enemies; but those days were no more; the navy of England was comparatively gone, and with it all our glory. But by whose fault was our navy gone? Was it by the fault of Parliament? The very reverse; for exclusive of the immense sums voted for that service since the beginning of the war, no less than 25,000,000*l.* had been voted for it during the peace. Such had been the liberality of Parliament — This liberality was requited by the most shameful neglect.

But this was not the only loss we had sustained by the war with the Dutch; it had cramped our operations in other quarters, and greatly served the purposes of the House of Bourbon,

Bourbon, as it diverted a considerable part of our naval force, which might have been better employed against our natural and inveterate enemies. If in their weak and backward state of preparation the Dutch had caused so great and so fatal a diversion of our naval force, what had we not to dread from them in the next campaign, when they should be in a much better condition to annoy us?

Would gentlemen, then, think that he spoke rashly or uncharitably, when he should say, that the present calamitous situation of the country had been produced by the want of foresight in Ministers, previous to the war, and their mismanagement since its commencement? If this was true, and he believed a review of their administration would demonstrate it, would not gentlemen allow that it would be highly improper to trust them any longer? Gentlemen were at liberty to do as they should think proper; for his part, he would propose those resolutions, which his regard for the welfare of his country had suggested to him; and, if they should be carried, he would follow them with another for an address to the King, not specifically to remove any one minister, or to point out any man or set of men to his Majesty, as the most proper persons to serve him; but merely to pray that his Majesty would take such steps and make such arrangements in his councils as should prevent the total ruin of the country.

He concluded with the following motion: "Resolved, That it appears to this House, that since the year 1775 upwards of one hundred millions of money have been expended on the army and navy, in a fruitless war."

The House desired he would read the remaining three, which he did, as follows:

"Resolved, That it appears to this House, that during the above period we have lost the Thirteen Colonies of America, which anciently did belong to the Crown of Great-Britain, (except the posts of New-York, Charles-town, and Savannah) the new acquired colony of Florida, many of our valuable West India and other islands, and those few that remain are in the most imminent danger."

"That it appears to this House, that Great Britain is at present engaged in an expensive war with France, Spain, and Holland, without a single ally."

"That it appears to this House, the chief cause of all these misfortunes is owing to want of foresight and ability in his Majesty's Ministers."

Lord

Cleaned & Oiled

